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Court Chairman Sentences Alia, Others

AU0207173094 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1635 GMT 2 Jul 94

[Text] The last hearing of the trial of Ramiz Alia and other defendants was held this morning. At this hearing, Court Chairman Andi Celiku announced the verdict, according to which Defendant Ramiz Alia was sentenced to nine years in prison. The other defendants were sentenced as follows:
Rita Marko to eight years in prison;
Manush Myftiu and Adil Carcani received five-year suspended sentences;
Hekuran Isai to five years;
Simon Stefani to eight years;
Aranit Cela to seven years;
Rrapi Mino to four years;
Zylyftar Ramizi to six years;
Veiz Haderi to three years in jail.

The verdict is effective from the day of their arrest. The aforementioned defendants, former top functionaries of the single-party state, will indemnify the state's treasury with a considerable amount of money.

Further on Verdicts

AU0307150194 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 2 Jul 94

[Report by Marash Mirashi]

[Text] The Tirana Court today passed a verdict on defendant Ramiz Alia, Albania's last communist president, and nine other high-level party and state functionaries of the communist regime. After an introduction referring to the summation by Prosecutor Fana, Judicial Court Chairman Andi Celiku defended the court's verdict on the guilt of the defendants. After finding the defendants guilty, the judicial body, including Chairman Andi Celiku, decided:

[Begin Celiku recording] 1. To declare Defendant Manush Myftiu guilty of the criminal act of conspiring to abuse his position resulting in the violation of basic freedoms and rights of the citizens and, on the basis of Articles 106, 13, 31/B, and 31/D of the Penal Code, convict him to prison for five years.

To declare the same defendant guilty of the criminal act of conspiring to violate the equality of citizens and, on the basis of Articles 107, 13, 31/B, and 31/D of the Penal Code, convict him to four years in prison. Finally, combining the verdicts, and on the basis of Article 35 of the Penal Code, Defendant Manush Myftiu is convicted to five years in prison. On the basis of Article 38 of the amended Penal Code, the court orders the suspension of the execution of this verdict, giving the rest of the verdict in five years' time, provided that within this period of time he does not commit any other criminal act as serious as this or even more serious.

To change the security measures for this defendant from arrest to home confinement, ordering its immediate execution.

To oblige this defendant to pay to the Governmental Services Directorate the amount of 424,464 leks.

2. To declare defendant Adil Carcani guilty of the criminal act of conspiring to abuse his position, resulting in the violation of the basic freedoms and rights of citizens and, on the basis of Articles 106, 13, 31/B, 31/D of the Penal Code, convict him to five years in prison.

To declare the same defendant guilty of the criminal act of conspiring to violate the equality of citizens and, on the basis of Articles 107, 13, 31/B, and 31/D of the Penal Code, convict him to four years in prison. Finally, combining the verdicts, and on the basis of Article 35 of the Penal Code, Defendant Adil Carcani is convicted to five years in prison. On the basis of Article 38 of the amended Penal Code, the court orders the suspension of the execution of this verdict, providing the rest of the verdict in five years' time, provided that within this period of time he does not commit any other criminal act as serious or even more serious than this.

To oblige this defendant to pay to the Governmental Services Directorate the amount of 667,727 leks.

3. To declare defendant Ramiz Alia guilty of the criminal act of conspiring to abuse his position, resulting in the violation of the basic freedoms and rights of citizens and, on the basis of Articles 106, 13, 31/B, 31/D of the Penal Code, convict him to eight years in prison.

To declare the same defendant guilty of the criminal act of conspiring to violate the equality of citizens and, on the basis of Articles 107, 13, 31/B, and 31/D of the Penal Code, convict him to five years in prison. Finally, combining the verdicts, and on the basis of Article 35 of the Penal Code, Defendant Ramiz Alia is convicted to nine years in prison, effective 12 September 1992.

To oblige this defendant to pay to the Governmental Services Directorate the amount of 1,174,167 leks.

4. To declare defendant Rita Marko guilty of the criminal act of conspiring to abuse his position resulting in the violation of the basic freedoms and rights of citizens and, on the basis of Articles 106, 13, 31/B, 31/D of the Penal Code, convict him to seven years' imprisonment.

To declare the same defendant guilty of the criminal act of conspiring to violate the equality of citizens and, on the basis of Articles 107, 13, 31/B, and 31/D of the Penal Code, convict him to five years in prison. Finally, conibining the verdicts, and on the basis of Article 35 of the Penal Code, Defendant Rita Marko is convicted to eight years in prison, effective 4 December 1991.

—To oblige this defendant to pay to the Governmental Services Directorate the amount of 275,873 leks.

5. To declare defendant Simon Stefani guilty of the criminal act of conspiring to abuse his position resulting in the violation of basic freedoms and rights of citizens and, at the expense of the lives of several persons murdered at the border, and, on the basis of Articles 106, 13, 31/B, 31/D of the Penal Code, convict him to seven years of imprisonment.

To declare the same defendant guilty of the criminal act of conspiring to violate the equality of citizens and, on the basis of Articles 107, 13, 31/B, and 31/D of the Penal Code, convict him to four years in prison. Finally, combining the verdicts, and on the basis of Article 35 of the Penal Code, defendant Simon Stefani is convicted to eight years in prison, effective 8 July 1992.

To oblige this defendant to pay to the Governmental Services Directorate the amount of 188,869 leks.

6. To declare defendant Hekuran Isai guilty of the criminal act of conspiring to abuse position resulting in the violation of basic freedoms and rights of citizens and, on the basis of Articles 106, 13, 31/B, 31/D of the Penal Code, convict him to four years in prison.

To declare the same defendant guilty of the criminal act of conspiring to violate the equality of citizens and, on the basis of Articles 107, 13, 31/B, and 31/D of the Penal Code, convict him to three years in prison. Finally, combining the verdicts, and on the basis of Article 35 of the Penal Code, Defendant Hekuran Isai is convicted to five years in prison, effective 28 September 1991.

To oblige this defendant to pay to the Governmental Services Directorate the amount of 413,082 leks.

7. To declare defendant Aranit Cela guilty of the criminal act of conspiring to abuse his position, resulting in the violation of the basic freedoms and rights of citizens and, on the basis of Articles 106, 13, 31/B, 31/D of the Penal Code, convict him to seven years in prison, effective 8 January 1993.

8. To declare defendant Zylyftar Ramizi guilty of the criminal act of conspiring to abuse his position at the expense of human life and, on the basis of Article 106 of the Penal Code, convict him to six years in prison, effective 18 October 1993.

9. To declare defendant Rrapi Mino guilty of the criminal act of conspiring to abuse his position, resulting in the violation of the basic freedoms and rights of citizens and, on the basis of Articles 106, 13, 31/B, 31/D of the Penal Code, convict him to four years in prison, effective 18 October 1993.

10. To declare defendant Veiz Haderi guilty of the criminal act of conspiring to abuse his position and, on the basis of Article 106 of the Penal Code, convict him to three years in prison, effective 31 December 1993.

It is permitted to lodge a complain or protest this verdict to the Court of Appeal within five days, this deadline taking effect three days after the announcement of this verdict. The verdict is announced today, 2 July 1994. The session is over. [end recording]

Dimitrov Comments on SDS Election Intentions

AU0507101294 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 28 Jun 94 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Filip Dimitrov, chairman of Union of Democratic Forces National Coordinating Council, by Polina Mikhaylova; place and date not given: "I Want What I Want for Bulgaria's Future"]

[Text] [Mikhaylova] Mr. Dimitrov, accusations have been voiced against the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] to the effect that the SDS does not actually want elections, that its deputies would prefer to stay in parliament until 1995, and even that a new cabinet is being prepared.

[Dimitrov] The SDS proved categorically that it wants new elections by the position it assumed. The boycott is the basic proof. You cannot adopt a decision to walk out of parliament, boycott its work, and yet be accused of wanting to preserve it.

[Mikhaylova] However, many deputies said that they oppose the boycott.

[Dimitrov] If you mean the Rasheeva-Mitsev decision, then your statement must be corrected. The deputies voted in favor of making analyses, and by God, analyses are being made. However, you have no reason to suspect that the deputies do not want elections, as long as the parliamentary faction observes the decisions of the SDS National Conference and the National Coordinating Council.

[Mikhaylova] And if, nevertheless, some of the deputies enter the National Assembly hall despite the National Coordinating Council decisions?

[Dimitrov] The parliamentary faction may decide to enter the National Assembly hall on a particular occasion and even adopt other steps related to the common goal—prompting new elections.

I think that it is high time, for example, to periodically demand a check on the quorum in the hall. I do not mean delays and protraction, but only proving the unconstitutional manner in which this parliament works. A decision to end the boycott without the consent of the National Coordinating Council would mean that the SDS parliamentary faction places itself outside the laws of the SDS and helps those communist deputies who really want to preserve the present situation because they are related to the Mafia, for which every additional day of chaos and plundering the country brings more money.

[Mikhaylova] On national radio, Yanaki Stoilov [deputy chairman of the Bulgarian Socialist Party Supreme Council] stated rather categorically that the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] supports holding new elections in the fall and that this should be incorporated in an appropriate agreement. You have been accused of reluctance to sign such an agreement, thus delaying the decision on new elections.

[Dimitrov] One really notices a certain progress in the Communists' positions. Obviously, the crisis, the SDS boycott, and the pressure from below forces people such as Mr. Videnov and Mr. Stoilov to assume a clearer position. However, I think that the Communist Party should issue a clearer declaration. What do I mean?

Through the appeal of the National Coordinating Council, the SDS announced that it will reject a mandate to form a new cabinet in this parliament, and will not support any new cabinet formed by anyone. Any retreat from this position is an overt act of treason and there will hardly be anyone prepared to do this. In the Bulgarian Communist Party only certain leaders make statements. There is no clear party declaration on the issue, therefore, the leaders' position could be discussed and amended. For example, they could say that a new cabinet is needed in order to save the country. Therefore it is extremely necessary to clearly express the political willingness of their party.

[Mikhaylova] Will there be an agreement if the BSP expresses such a will?

[Dimitrov] Such a will has no constitutional meaning, except if a proposal is made to vote on a decision of the parliament to discontinue its prerogatives, as it was proposed by Mr. Yordanov and Mr. Sugarev. This would mean that the parliament actually decides to dissolve itself, set a date for the end of its prerogatives, and determine the date of the elections. This means that the current cabinet will rule only until election day. All those who try to avoid new elections will begin to voice considerations against such a decision. They could even contest it in the Constitutional Court. In other words, nothing will come out of it if there is no clearly expressed will.

The other alternative contains the following stages:

1. The cabinet resigns.
2. The parties refuse to receive a mandate to form a new cabinet.
3. The parties do not support any attempt to form a new cabinet.

I repeat, in this case, it is not the commitment, but the action itself that has a constitutional meaning. Therefore, the important word is not an "agreement," but rather a "party commitment." Naturally, both could be violated, but my experiences taught me that an agreement always contains traps. For example, there are laws that should be adopted. However, if they are not adopted, the other commitment is postponed, thus ammunition is supplied to those who oppose new elections. We do not need to prove to each other what each of us wants. It is ridiculous to expect us to reach a common position with the Communist Party. However, as political forces that are responsible to their voters, each side must clearly and categorically declare the following, not as a private opinion, but as a party position:

1. Is it ready to vote for no-confidence in Mr. Berov's cabinet, and when it will do so?
2. Will it relinquish the mandate to form a new cabinet?
3. Will it refuse to support anyone's mandate?

The SDS already declared all this in its appeal. Let us hear a clear declaration on the part of the Communists. Only in this case, could there be a coincidence in the intentions. What you will call it makes no difference.

[Mikhaylova] Are you involved in negotiations with someone on forming a new cabinet?

[Dimitrov] No. My statements until now should have made this clear. I warn those who would like to form a new cabinet: There is no way they could invent a formula for a new cabinet, even at the cost of their treason, unless they accept the fact that this will be a Bulgarian Communist Party cabinet.

[Mikhaylova] Do you fear new elections? Some of your colleagues think that the people are disappointed with politics and politicians.

[Dimitrov] The people are disappointed by the fact that corruption seriously affected the political circles, and that even people who were elected on the SDS ballot succumbed. There are many temptations. The most primitive one is money. Then, there is the fear of losing your status. Excessive ambition is another temptation. It could turn a politician against his own ideals and force him to say today precisely the opposite of what he said yesterday. Thus, the people are naturally disappointed. However, if we want to cope with this disappointment we need action that will prove that we will not retreat, but will accomplish what we planned to achieve. We cannot merely reconcile and make empty promises.

[Mikhaylova] Ventsislav Dimitrov recently said that your positions on many issues, such as privatization and so forth, are not very clear.

[Dimitrov] I know what I want for Bulgaria's future. I think that all people know what the SDS will do when it assumes power. If someone does not like this, then that is their problem, not the problem of the SDS.

Commentary Warns Against Control Over Media

AU0407085894 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 1 Jul 94 p 8

[Commentary by Genka Markova: "Now BTA Has Fallen As Well"]

[Text] Now BTA has also suffered the fate of Bulgarian National Radio and Television, after the National Assembly voted to put it under parliamentary control. Thus, finally, freedom of speech in our state has been conclusively attached, like a duty stamp, to a Parliamentary Radio and Television Commission that for the past four years has been described as an interim body. Instead of drafting a law on the electronic media and then dissolving itself, this commission has gone onto the offensive and is expanding the domain of its guardianship.

Accordingly, all the national sources of information will be subjected to the omnipresent expert eyes of a dozen National Assembly deputies. While some of them have little notion of what the phrase national media really means, others have seen something of the wide world and know that in civilized states this trick simply is not allowed. In these countries the public mass media, which everywhere are financed from the public purse, have the unpretentious task of keeping the public informed.

In Bulgaria, parliament has transformed the public mass media into a means of protecting politicians, politickers, and state officials. In making this move, our deputies even surpassed the newly risen star of Berlusconi, who failed to achieve the same result with Italian national television.

Havel on Handling of Local Government Reform

LD0307144294 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1215 GMT 3 Jul 94

[Interview with President Vaclav Havel by correspondent Robert Tamchyna at the presidential residence in Lany; date not given; from the "Conversations at Lany" program—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Tamchyna] You, Mr. President, do not like to be a commentator on current affairs too frequently in "Conversations at Lany," but, in spite of that, I cannot but begin today with a question about the dominant issue this week—namely, the Czech Government negotiations on the proposed division of the Republic into a number of higher territorial-administrative units. The precise number became the subject of debate and finally agreement in the Czech Government. You reacted to this agreement by saying that you were satisfied that the government had fulfilled its promise, but how do you view the fact that negotiations and controversies about such an important proposal take place within the government only at the eleventh hour?

[Havel] Yes, that is the way it is. I really do consider it very good that the government, albeit at the last minute and with a slim majority, voted in favor of the bill in question, which it sent on to parliament and thereby fulfilled its promise, its obligation, and now it will become the subject of broad debate in parliament. [passage omitted]

My first comment is that this really is an extremely important matter. My second is that I intensely disliked the way this extremely important subject was politically handled. This is something that has been talked about here for four years. It has been talked about for four years in parliament, it has been discussed by municipal authorities, and I myself have been through tens if not hundreds of debates on this subject with mayors, local government representatives, and, of course, politicians. It has been discussed for a very long time, everybody understands what an important matter it is, and yet, at the end of the day, the government has to make a decision within the space of a few hours as to what proposal it is going to submit to parliament. As alternatives, it has eight higher territorial-administrative units—12, 15, and 17—and within two or three hours it has to decide or vote on the correct number of units.

That is a little sad. It seems to me that it was not preceded by a long series of objective coalition debates, during which the parties could eventually unite on a given conception, which would then obviously be more precisely defined and developed in parliament. The situation came to a head completely unnecessarily. It looked almost like a crisis. Luckily that government session averted the crisis, and it seems to me that this gives a lesson for the whole coalition as to how it should not treat certain demanding subjects. [passage omitted]

Changes to Intelligence Services Bill Demanded

AU0107165194 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 25 Jun 94 p 2

[Article by "(km)": "Deputies Reject Agents' Using Documents of Living People"]

[Text] Prague—Despite the fact that Stanislav Devaty, director of the Security and Information Service, assured this week the deputies of the Defense and Security Affairs Committee that the secret services would not use in their work cover documents of living people, the deputies insisted that this fact should be explicitly included in the law on intelligence services.

The government bill did not prohibit the secret services from using such documents. In this connection, the deputies drew attention, above all, to the possible violation of rights and freedoms of the citizens and proposed that the Chamber of Deputies pass the bill in a modified form at the beginning of July.

In this case, the secret service agents could only present, if the situation required it, documents issued in the name of deceased or fictitious people. However, they would not be allowed to use documents showing that they perform the function of the president of the Republic, a deputy, a senator, a government member, the president of the Supreme Inspection Office, the Czech National Bank governor, a judge, or a state attorney. They should not use diplomatic passports to disguise their real identity, either.

According to experts, provisions on the utilization of other means of disguise, such as cars, are also missing from the government bill on the intelligence services.

The Security and Information Service should issue cover documents for themselves; the Foreign Liaison and Information Office, the intelligence service, should acquire them from the Interior Ministry; and the Defense Ministry should issue them to military intelligence services.

Freeh's Visit Prompts Reexamination of Crime

LD0207202494 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 2 Jul 94

[Excerpts] By means of a short commentary, we return today to the visit by an FBI delegation to Slovakia.

[Unidentified correspondent] The visit to Bratislava on 29 June by Louis Freeh, director of the FBI, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, was important primarily because organized crime is not absent even from Slovakia and is discreetly taking root here. Interior Minister Ladislav Pittner openly admits that our country is no longer only a transit route but, rather, a destination for drug smugglers. Furthermore, it is no longer just a question of the Balkan route but also of the route from beyond the Caucasus, with the primary source in Afghanistan. [passage omitted]

Slovakia must presumably start to defend itself more effectively against organized crime. In addition to drugs, the main forms are organized car thefts, kidnappings, prostitution, and money laundering. The FBI offers cooperation that the Slovak side has naturally accepted. In this connection, it immediately outlined requirements aimed at the professionalization of our police officers in order to deal with individual types of organized crime. This is certain to require money, time, and good legislation. FBI Director Louis Freeh encouraged our legislators in this respect by saying they were on the right track. [passage omitted]

Moravcik Rejects Criticism of Benes Decrees

LD0107135794 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1200 GMT 1 Jul 94

[Text] Following yesterday's statement by Eva Mitrova, the Slovak ambassador to Hungary, Slovak Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik reacted to her statement on the Benes decrees. Renata Havranova, editor of the PRACE daily, phones in from Bratislava:

[Havranova] Slovak Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik expressed surprise today over the allegations by Eva Mitrova, the former representative of the Slovak Republic in the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe, in connection with the Benes decrees. Slovakia's current ambassador to Hungary said yesterday that these decrees were an obligation to which, in view of their origin, the Slovak side did not have to accede if the deputies had greater courage at the time of Slovakia's acceptance as a member of the Council of Europe.

Prime Minister Moravcik, in today's regular address on Slovak Radio, unequivocally rejected this thought. He said that Slovakia has not exceeded reciprocity in any respect. On the contrary, the recommendations of the Council of Europe were, in his view, rather complimentary. This organization has indicated that the government of the Slovak Republic, after the division of the federation, has continued in its effort to eliminate some wrongs that were connected with the application of the principle of collective guilt. Slovakia, according to Moravcik, has fulfilled this obligation.

The doubts about adherence to the Benes decrees, according to the Slovak prime minister, are unfounded because the Slovak Republic in this case promised nothing outside its interests.

Meciar Discusses Media Policy, Other Issues

AU0207173894 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 27 Jun 94 p 4

[Article by Eva Zelenayova on speech by Vladimir Meciar, chairman of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, at the Second Assembly of the Association of Slovak Journalists in Bratislava on 25 June: "Vladimir Meciar Was Scoring Points Again"]

[Text] At the start of his address, Vladimir Meciar characterized present domestic political developments. He drew attention to the vulnerability of the new state, in which "an extensive societal movement is taking place, which is not only movement from totalitarianism toward democracy but also movement toward one's own statehood, market mechanisms, and changes in the social structure, a movement toward halting general decline and renewing growth and the state's unity and strength. All of this has to be resolved concurrently, in a coordinated fashion and in a historically short span of time. Conflicts arise also in other states. In Slovakia, we have jointly established a democratic system. When a conflict occurred within this system, we opted for departure from the government rather than for destruction of the system. This was not defeat; it was retreat into another position, which will allow us to reassess our own ranks, get to know our mistakes, prepare a new program, rearrange our ranks, move ahead, and win. Our task is not over."

It Was at Home That We Had Not Been Accepted

Vladimir Meciar then expressed his view of current developments: "We cannot remain silent when some democratic values are being routed. The right to self-determination, in particular, is a basic democratic postulate, the realization of which is the fundamental right of a nation. When Slovaks exercise this right, they only exercise what has been their natural right from time immemorial and nothing more. Regarding this as nationalism or as an expression of some aberration means failing to understand the historic period in which this is taking place. We had not been rejected by international structures. We had been rejected at home, on the domestic scene. The Christian Democrats and the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL], which did not want this state, are now assuming responsibility for it along with those whose morals have sunk so low that they are incapable of reflecting the realities of life. At the same time, we must realize that even those who had accepted this state are calling it into question today—the prime minister, for example, when he says that this state was

not wanted by more than one-half of the population or that the Czech Republic and Slovakia will unite again. No matter what attributes he may be giving to this, such talk is irresponsible, and there is no place for it on our political scene, let alone in the government. Similarly, we cannot accept the naive idea that the victory of the state is a given once and for all, that everything is unchangeable and inviolable. Those naive ideas and voices, which are coming mostly from the Castle [seat of the president], are aimed at lowering the ability to react to the real processes taking place within the state and around us. When we speak about the sovereignty of the state as a basic right, we must also speak about representatives who would be able to explain the significance of sovereignty to the citizens so that it becomes an integral part of their personality, so that they realize that it is at the heart of their own interest."

We Will Not Allow a Sellout of the Economy

Vladimir Meciar said that our economy must not remain in foreign hands [as published], and he once again recalled the right to hold a referendum. He also mentioned attempts at manipulating citizens before the elections and the draft law on election campaign spending, which, according to Vladimir Meciar, discriminates against the strong ones. "When the proposed rules are accepted, we will have one-fifth of the Christian Democratic Movement's [KDH] financial resources per voter, one-third of the SDL's resources, and about one one-hundredth of the Democratic Union's [DU] resources. This is a case of applying the same criteria to disparate entities," the HZDS [Movement for a Democratic Slovakia] chairman said, adding that the movement will put up resistance to this. He also paid attention to the question of minorities and said in this context that the HZDS will not support the establishment of autonomy for minorities.

"To be able to create a new system of values, we must build an entirely new state information system. The existing system has come about spontaneously, without any organization, and is distinguished by some elements we do not find quite acceptable. The first of these elements is the acquisition of large periodicals by foreign capital. If periodicals wrote in the languages of those who pay them, few newspapers and journals would be published in Slovakia. Both direct and indirect financing is involved. As far as the question of owners is concerned, we will not retain diversified ownership, but the decisive instruments of information policy must remain in the hands of the Slovak Republic [sentence as published]. What state renounces one of its hallmarks, the ability to inform [the public]? What government allows a situation to arise in which it does not have the opportunity to address the citizens of its own state about what it wants to do and what it is doing in their name? Unfortunately, we allowed such a situation to arise some time ago and are paying dearly for it. This is one of the mistakes we made."

Who Will Get Printing Plants

"The entire publishers' network is also undergoing structural changes, and privatization is taking place. We have clearly declared that we are in favor of printing plants and publishers being interlinked, that we are in favor of their ownership by institutions that guarantee their objective development and not manipulation. If privatization continues as it has until now, esteemed ladies and gentlemen, you will be left with nothing but your pens and typewriters. Either we will put up resistance, in our own interest, or everything will disappear in someone else's hands. That is the issue right now."

In the next part of his contribution, Vladimir Meciar dealt with questions of journalists' position. He also raised the issue of how to build the information system. "We need an institution that would organize from the center the process of creation of public opinion about us abroad and that would do so on a professional level. We have to establish a central body of state administration for this purpose, be it within the framework of the ministry of culture and information or some other ministry. We will have to assume a clear standpoint on the fate of television. We are talking about dual broadcasting. We will have to clarify whether we are going to have two televisions [a state-run and a private one] or just one, and the same issues will have to be clarified with regard to the radio and the news agency." Meciar asked journalists to help put the finishing touches to the program in this sphere.

Manipulation Through Information

From the viewpoint of international media policy, Meciar voiced interest in the bilateral provision of information. "What is taking place at present is a struggle to control people by means of flow of information. This struggle is exceptionally intensive and is supported by plenty of disinformation from abroad. The ability to guarantee the independence of information on the information market of the Slovak Republic is one of the attributes of state sovereignty."

Speaking about current processes in the economy, Vladimir Meciar said that the direction and nature of economic reform are at issue in this period. "This struggle has been under way in Slovakia since 1991, when we rejected the system of economic reform applied then because it was disadvantageous for us. It is being applied again, even though U.S. economic expert Sachs acknowledged that 90 percent of these theories were unusable for Russia and that they have brought about a number of collapses in all countries. Yet we are returning to them again. Pure monetarism, in the form in which it has been put forward, is not suitable for us. By returning to the policy of restrictions, we are unwinding a new spiral of economic instability, which will be carried into politics, into the state. We have no right to be silent when this happens. Instead of seeking forms, we are adjusting to our own conditions the copying of foreign methods

that have already failed everywhere else. [sentence as published]. That is a mistake."

We Need Capitalists

"There is also a struggle for the nature of privatization. When asked what we want, we say clearly: Yes, property must pass into private hands. Yes, cooperation with foreign capital must exist. For privatization to be successful, however, we must also consider the fact that the Slovak Republic needs its own, independent stratum of capitalists. We will either create it, or we will once again be only the executive unit of other branches of capital. The chance still exists today to put up resistance and bring pressure to bear on changing this economic structure. The main task of the government that will emerge from the elections will be to establish this stratum of capitalists. (...) Let us establish it as a domestic stratum. Let this stratum compete with others. If this is nationalism, I am in favor of such nationalism."

The Government Has No Idea

Vladimir Meciar went on to say that it is extremely important to keep money circulating and that, even though the HZDS is in opposition, it is helping out in this "because the government has no idea what is happening where." He also considered the stability of the political system, which he called one of the conditions for Slovakia's successful transformation. "A stable system cannot be created by unstable political parties. They infect the state mechanism with their internal diseases and erode the state as a whole. It can be assumed that, if the elections do not resolve some fundamental issues in this regard, Slovakia may find itself in a new crisis within two years, regardless of the faces and names at the top. [This would mean] A new conflict between constitutional bodies, new elections, and new programs. Unfortunately, it is necessary to deal with this unequivocally. The stability of the political system is not possible without changes in the political regime. This means that it will be necessary to reckon with inevitable interventions in the structure of constitutional bodies and their mutual relations. Otherwise, the stabilization of the state will not be accomplished. The parties and personal selfishness will erode it. This political system will be under the influence of social pressures, which are growing, and also under the influence of political pressures. As regards political entities and the new structuring of power, it will remain democratic by nature. It must not and cannot be otherwise. However, we cannot repeat the sick system that has emerged now when the president is not accountable to anyone and anything and is above other citizens. We have not established the model of an emperor but the model of an equal among equals, even if he is the first."

Klaus—Guarantor of Slovak Republic's Sovereignty

Vladimir Meciar does not think we should imitate foreign models and replace one sort of idols with others. We should definitely stay ourselves. He drew attention to foreign interests and said: "I would not underestimate the influence of the Czech Republic, either, even though the paradoxical fact is that, with today's poltroons in the government, Vaclav Klaus is a bigger guarantor of the Slovak Republic's sovereignty than the whole Slovak Government with its parliament." According to Meciar, the elections will determine where we will go, whether toward another crisis or beyond that. He said that there is rampant corruption but that the press is silent, even when the interests of the state are at stake. "It would be good if we launched a campaign, either now or after the elections, for clean hands in social life. Mafias must not seize control over the Slovak political scene. (...)

"The decisions about political life, about the government and parliament, are not made where they should be but that policy is dictated by a few powerful billionaires in Slovakia who decide what is to be done and how one should obey. This must not be allowed, this must not happen."

The HZDS chairman deplored that fact that a broad alliance of nationally oriented parties has not been established. Nonetheless, he is against the HZDS's renouncing the national program. He also analyzed the situation in political entities. About the left bloc, he said that it has assimilated a right-wing program and that the HZDS sees no element of stability in it. It does not see it in the KDH, either, because they signal in advance that they do not want to respect democratic principles of arrangement—that is, the principle of choice as the basic imperative of citizenship. It is also hard to seek elements of stability in the Democratic Union and in the Association of Workers of Slovakia because they came into being without structures. Because, as he said, the unstable ones do not guarantee stability, they have to look for it among themselves. Vladimir Meciar extended to the Association of Slovak Journalists [ZSN] the offer to propose its own candidates for parliament. "We will guarantee their presence," he said. He also spoke about the possibilities for journalists to assert themselves in state administration, diplomatic service, and elsewhere. He spoke critically about the quality of cooperation with the ZSN. The influx of new energy and new ideas is missing. He asked the assembly to supply its program and to step up its own activity. He called on ZSN members to be the ones who set the tone in Slovak journalism. He said that the movement in Slovakia can be perceived differently, but solutions must be sought among citizens of the Slovak Republic.

Left's Preparation for Elections Described

94CH0300A Bratislava SME in Slovak 24 May 94 p 4

[Commentary by Robert Kotian: "Condemned to a Leftist Development"]

[Text] The successes of the leftist parties in postcommunist Europe are surely not only the result of social and economic difficulties, accompanying efforts by these

countries to transform a communist society into a democratic society. An important place in the gradual establishment of the former Communist Parties is certainly occupied by the political methods used, in which nothing is left to chance and, at least as far as the Slovak leftist Democrats are concerned, every step regarding how they progress in the direction of their goal—victory during the elections—is thought about a number of times. That was fully revealed at yesterday's press conference by Peter Weiss, chairman of the SDL [Party of the Democratic Left].

The SDL's long-term acceptability among the Slovak public, which is running around 13 to 14 percent of the electorate's preferences, was certainly worth the effort by the SDL to create an equal election coalition with the Social Democrats, the farmers, and the Greens, which was confirmed yesterday by the signatures of the chairmen of those parties. The fact that the leftist bloc already has an agreed-upon notion, not only regarding its leaders, but also with respect to representation of individual entities on the joint candidates list, clearly indicates the degree of attention and the importance they ascribe to the elections and to the time factor, which is, in fact, quite short.

The joint leftist list of candidates moreover—like it or not—unites some contradictions that cannot be ignored, for example, between the European and rural perceptions of problems besetting Slovak society, between the acceptance of the necessity for transformation and privatization and the nostalgia for the socialist era which, under Slovak conditions, should have some hope of success if there is the right mix of views reflected in the election district and its problems.

The leftist bloc is faced by yet another serious problem—to take a position with regard to the postelection coalitions with regard to the acceptability of individual potential partners, where the notion of its leaders can change with the tendencies of the membership base, where a marriage made on the basis of common sense (accompanied by benefits resulting from being represented in the executive) can fail for purely emotional or more complicated reasons—for example, for reasons of lustration—where, given the persuasive nature of the expected victor, substantive arguments to benefit the current model of government may not prosper in a confrontation.

Slovakia is most likely condemned to undergo a leftist development, but it must be noted that this verdict bears the signatures both of leftist and also rightist leaders as a result of their preelection activities.

Lebanese Report on Tank Sales to Syria Denied

LD0107123994 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1000 GMT 1 Jul 94

[Text] The Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs today denied a report in the Lebanese newspaper AL-SAFIR that, during his recent visit to Damascus, Foreign Affairs Minister Eduard Kukan allegedly signed a contract for the delivery of 250 Slovak tanks to Syria.

(Vera Biskupova), from the Foreign Ministry's press department, said the information is nonsense and stressed that the minister has signed no such contract.

On Sunday, after his return from the Middle East, Eduard Kukan himself told journalists that a contract with Damascus for the delivery of 250 tanks from Martin was expiring. This contract was concluded at the time of the [Czechoslovak] Federation. However, he knew nothing about its being renewed.

Martin Arms Factory To Send 50 Tanks to India

94CH0311B Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 4 Jun 94 pp 1-2

[Article by NO-eb, rr: "The Martin Arms Factory Is Expecting a Government Guarantee for the Delivery of 50 Tanks to India"]

[Text] Martin/Dubnica nad Vahom (NO—V. Duduc)—Mr. Mallikarjun, Indian minister of state for defense, accompanied by Pavel Kanis, Slovak Republic minister of defense, and Economics Minister Petr Magvasi, yesterday visited two of the largest Slovak arms factories—ZTS [Heavy Machinery Plants] at Martin and Dubnica nad Vahom. In the first case, as was confirmed by Valer Richter, deputy director general of the Martin plant in charge of strategy and development, this was largely a matter of granting a government guarantee of $28 million deposited by the Indian side to the CSOB [expansion unknown] account for delivery of 15 complete and 35 recovery tanks, which are to be assembled in India according to the agreement. In responding to a question by NARODNA OBRODA as to why the government is refusing to provide a guarantee for a transaction which has been so secured, Minister P. Magvasi responded by saying that the government cabinet had not learned the details of the entire project until 26 May and has thus far not had time to make a decision. He further stated that the above guarantee will be discussed at the beginning of next week by the Council of Economic Ministers and that, with the greatest of likelihood, the discussion will also involve the government. The transaction with India should be concluded by the end of January 1995 and there is already talk of possibly expanding it. Special production already accounts for 30 to 40 percent of overall production at the Martin armaments plant, and in addition to the above recovery tanks intended for engineering purposes, this production is represented also by the modernized T-72 tank manufactured in cooperation with ZTS Dubnica nad Vahom.

According to Miroslav Macek, Dubnica factory marketing specialist, armaments production accounts for about 5 percent of total output. That is why they expect much of the self-propelled Zuzana howitzer gun, whose world premiere took place at this year's IDET [International Exposition of Military Equipment] exhibit at Brno. P. Magvasi confirmed for us that the Indian

delegation showed interest in this weapon. In the armaments business, the principle applies that arms should first be introduced in one's own army, which is, at the same time, an expression of a guarantee regarding their quality. Minister of Defense P. Kanis told NARODNA OBRODA that the army has in mind to buy four howitzer guns, but he refused to make it clear as to when.

The Indian minister praised the level of Slovak armaments firms and stated that Slovakia will soon be visited by a group of experts that will conclude the negotiations.

Weapons To Be Shown at Brno Arms Exhibit

94CH0311A Bratislava PRACA in Slovak 30 May 94 p 1

[Article by Ivan Spani: "IDET—A Sensitive Exhibition"]

[Text] Bratislava (Praca)—The most interesting exhibition at the second running of the First International Exposition of Military Equipment (IDET) in Brno will be the Slovak armaments industry exhibit.

That is because here, before the public, the world premiere will be enjoyed by such key items as the already legendary long-range self-propelled Model Zuzana howitzer, which has been fully modernized and is already adjusted for NATO calibers, which the exhibitors, ZTS [Heavy Machinery Plants] at Dubnica, list as the currently most modern weapon of the former Czechoslovakia. Also on exhibit will be the modernized T-72 tank, as well as the recovery and bridging tank produced by ZTS at Martin or at Tatrapan, as well as the light armored vehicle for the UNPROFOR [UN Protective Force] units manufactured at the Podpoliany Engineering Plants at Detva.

These were not only courteous words by the organizers of the exhibition, because they presented the items in Bratislava. Similar statements regarding the Slovak exposition and its exhibits also appear in the advertising materials produced by the exposition.

And at the exposition, our manufacturers and military people will be seeking partners who would like to use similar weapons, in addition to the Slovak Republic and the Czech Republic, because only in that way can their production be efficient. That is why it is surprising that neither at the press conference nor at the exhibition was the Armex organization represented. The organization, headed by Vitazoslav Moric, was established to help export our weapons abroad. The initiative was grasped by the military as well as by Slovak manufacturers themselves, because not even the Ministry of Economics of the Slovak Republic developed any activity in this direction. The Czech RDP group and other similar groupings and associations are among the large exhibitors. The Slovak Ministry of Defense will be exhibiting alongside exhibits of foreign armies where Austria, China, Israel, and Switzerland will not be absent.

Overall, the IDET '94 exhibition will involve 190 firms from 15 countries. It begins at Brno on 1 June with the first three days (at a higher price) set aside for the specialized public and the fourth day—Saturday—will be open to all visitors, because the idea of the exhibition is also to facilitate public control of the arms industry which is, after all, financed by every taxpayer. In the fall, Slovak taxpayers as well as businessmen will be able to make use of a similar opportunity at a similar exhibition of weapons at Trecin.

Higher Deficit Leads to Budget Recalculation

94CH0311C Bratislava TREND in Slovak 18 May 94 p 1

[Article by TREND/TRIAS: "The Budget Deficit for Last Year Was 31.8 Billion Slovak Korunas"]

[Text] Bratislava (TREND/TRIAS)—The deficit in the state budget for last year amounted to 31.8 billion Slovak korunas [Sk], that is to say, more than the Sk23 billion announced by the former government of Vladimir Meciar. This was stated by Finance Minister Rudolf Filkus after the government discussed the final state accounting for the Slovak Republic [SR]for 1993. The amounts published by the previous government failed to include Sk5.8 billion to balance the clearing account with the Czech Republic, Sk1.8 billion for health care, and Sk1.2 billion for education. A deficit in the state budget was the result of the failure to collect the anticipated revenues at a level of Sk7.8 billion and by exceeding stipulated expenditures by Sk15.2 billion. Failures on the revenue side were shared in mostly by lower contributions for pensions, hospital and health care insurance premiums and employment premiums, and shortfalls in taxes processed by tax offices and customs facilities. Outstanding taxes (Sk12.8 billion) are potential revenue for the state budget.

The expenditure portion of the budget was exceeded after the drawing of resources in October was deregulated as a result of problems in the health care industry, education, and social security, and due to the growth of debt interest rates and expenditures having to do with the national debt. The Slovak National Bank received interest payments of about Sk5.6 billion, which is about one-fourth of the reported budget deficit. The obligation resulted from covering the current deficit for 1993, from uncovered deficits for previous years, and as a result of taking over the liabilities of the former federation.

The national debt for 1993 rose by Sk27 billion and total indebtedness for the SR amounted to Sk123 billion. The government proposed to cover the deficit through resources acquired by issuing state bonds.

At an extraordinary government session on 15 May, the SR Government expressed its approval to have the proposed amendment of the law on the 1994 SR state budget show an increase in expenditures for the SR Ministry of Education and Science by Sk1.2 billion and expenditures for the Ministry of Public Health would be increased by Sk1.8 billion. At the same time, the government charged the minister of finance and the minister of

health with proposing, by 1 September, an additional method for financing public health care from extrabudgetary resources. The government has decided to make available Sk400 million from reserves to reduce the debts incurred by health facilities for last year.

The government also approved a proposal to resolve the problem of finalizing former complex housing construction (KBV) and charged the minister of finance to make available Sk100 million from government reserves as transitory financial aid for completing KBV projects.

Assembly Abolishes Economic Relations Ministry

LD0507102394 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0900 GMT 5 Jul 94

[Excerpt] The new parliament has abolished the Ministry of International Economic Relations. Andras Kerekes reports from the National Assembly:

[Kerekes] The first law passed by the new parliament was adopted with 228 votes in favor, 27 against, and 42 abstentions. The tasks and powers of the thus abolished foreign trade ministry will be assumed by the Ministry of Industry and Trade. [passage omitted]

Prime Minister-Designate Horn Views Prospects

AU0507110694 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 2 Jul 94 p 17

[Interview with Prime Minister-designate Gyula Horn by Peter Vajda and Istvan Zalai; place and date not given: "There Is A Crisis, But It Can Be Overcome"]

[Excerpts] [NEPSZABADSAG] Mr Horn! In May 1990, the late Jozsef Antall said that whoever agrees to lead the government in Hungary is a fanatic, a missionary, or mad. Has the situation changed now? What does one who accepts the position of prime minister now regard himself?

[Horn] First, I would prefer to answer this question when I am already prime minister. However, I can say that I have never been a follower of Antall's ideas, and I do not regard this position as either an obsession or madness.

[NEPSZABADSAG] After all, why did you accept this position?

[Horn] After all, I accepted this position because I do not think the situation is hopeless. There is a crisis, but not one from which we have no way out. I came to the conclusion that the activity of this government will be successful if we can form a good team. This is why I accepted the position. I have never been obsessed with any position. I know that this is a tremendous task, and I come across problems almost daily, problems that I was not aware of before.

[NEPSZABADSAG] You often mentioned that there are great expectations toward the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP]. You also increased these expectations when you repeatedly spoke of the possibility of immediate steps aimed at improving the people's financial situation. Many people say that perhaps you are promising too much....

[Horn] I also heard or read statements claiming that the MSZP won the elections through promises. This is simply not true. We said that we wanted to conduct a man-centered policy. We are directing our efforts to make sure that the policy of the next Hungarian government is determined by the firm improvement of the people's everyday life and living conditions, rather than by prestige issues. We want to make the activity of the government and the Parliament cheaper. In addition, we can and must help those in real need. We must eliminate a lot of bureaucratic procedures and measures that irritate the people. [passage omitted]

I would not support any extra taxes, for example, for the world expo in Hungary, taxes that would only further exacerbate the people's tax burdens. We also want to approach the issue of the river barrage system in Bos without prejudice. This country has spent many billions [currency not specified] of taxpayers' money and almost no progress has been achieved in the last four years. Ecology is the decisive factor in approaching this issue. At the same time, we think that a solution must be found on an expert level and then on a political level. I think that an agreement on the Bos issue would bring us closer to signing a basic agreement with Slovakia. I do not envisage this the way my favorite paper does, namely to formulate such a document urgently and hastily. This would not be possible either, because the text must be coordinated with the Slovak partner and the ethnic Hungarians living in Slovakia must also be consulted on the matter, and then the issue must be submitted to the parliamentary committees and the plenum. Therefore, even if we wanted to, we would not be able to finish this in one week. We do not entertain the hope that this would lead to a sudden change in the Slovak-Hungarian relations in Slovakia overnight, but we must urgently start working on this if, by this, we can create a favorable atmosphere in our bilateral relations and better possibilities for the ethnic Hungarians living in Slovakia. [passage omitted]

[NEPSZABADSAG] Mr Horn! You declared repeatedly that there would be no "summer cleansing" in the state apparatus. At the same time, we learned that, in some ministries, the new minister is placing "his own men" in middle management positions. What is your opinion about this?

[Horn] Every minister-designate studies the professional composition of his ministry. The decisive question is whether one fulfills the professional requirements. Obviously, there will be people in every ministry whom the coalition government regards as unsuitable, but on a professional basis only. I do not think that we are talking about many people here. In any case, I would like the government members to enjoy maximum independence in selecting their personnel. They will bear responsibility for wrong choices. [passage omitted]

[NEPSZABADSAG] You made a compromise with your coalition partners and you continue to aim for a compromise with the social pact. Do you think that the price for these compromises might be higher than expected and you might lose your own supporters, just like the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF]?

[Horn] I do not want to confront the MDF; we have struggled enough with each other, but the MDF failed to implement its program, and this was the main cause of

its fall. However, the MSZP did not promise anything that cannot be fulfilled, and we will carry out everything that we have promised.

[NEPSZABADSAG] And if not?

[Horn] In that case, we would also differ from this government in the sense that we would draw the necessary conclusions. I, personally, would definitely do so. [passage omitted]

[NEPSZABADSAG] One of the MSZP deputy chairmen said that the party has already started considering the possibility of separating the government and the party at the next party congress scheduled for the coming autumn.

[Horn] The next congress should bring a lot of fresh faces, because the majority of the top party officials got government or parliamentary positions. As for the issue of party chairman, this mostly depends on the will of the party members and not simply on my will.

[NEPSZABADSAG] What is your intention?

[Horn] I cannot yet tell. Most international examples show that the positions of prime minister and party chairman are not incompatible in the case of social democratic parties. But let me think about this! [passage omitted]

Agricultural Minister-Designate Interviewed

AU0107131694 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 30 Jun 94 p 10

[Interview with Agricultural Minister-designate Laszlo Lakos by Zoltan B. Kelemen; place and date not given: "Laszlo Lakos Promises Neutral Agricultural Regulations—They Have Only Been Dealing With Allocating the Assets up to Now"]

[Text] Laszlo Lakos, the coalition's agricultural minister-designate, expects the dominance of private ownership and promises its security. In his view, worries that private farmers will find themselves in an impossible situation, in contrast with the cooperatives, are without foundation, and whichever organizational form agricultural production takes, people in the agricultural sector can expect regulations that are neutral to the competitors. He says that the future agricultural policy has to promote the establishment of groups in agriculture that can efficiently assert their interests through their level of organization and importance, and through the possession of adequate information. We interviewed Laszlo Lakos on the Agricultural Ministry's most pressing tasks.

[Kelemen] You were one of the potential minister candidates whose names had already been mentioned before the first round of the elections, and this remained so until the official nomination. Has this influenced you in recent weeks, namely, have you consciously been preparing for the position of agricultural minister?

[Lakos] If you mean whether I have prepared some kind of inventory, then the answer is no. I have been in the profession since 1968, and this will be my third parliamentary cycle. In the past four years, I have been deputy chairman of the Economic and then the Agricultural Committee, so from my position it was possible to see agricultural matters from two angles: On the one hand as a cooperative chairman and private entrepreneur, and as a committee deputy chairman in legislation on the other. I received an official request from [Hungarian Socialist Party Chairman] Gyula Horn one week before parliament's inaugural session. I will be discussing with Agricultural Minister Janos Szbo when and how to start coordination.

[Kelemen] You mean you will agree on the conditions of handing over office?

[Lakos] This is only coordination at the moment because handing over the affairs will only take place after 15 July.

[Kelemen] During the coalition talks, the main principles and elements of the future agricultural program were formed. According to these, which regulations on the level of laws will have to be amended?

[Lakos] Completing compensation and helping the work of the land issuing committees are the most urgent tasks, and these will probably require legislative intervention. We would like to cancel the latest amendment of the laws on cooperatives, and we immediately have to change the agricultural market procedures, especially its sections on autumn jobs. The coalition agreement states that the law on chambers also has to be changed to prevent representation in the agricultural chambers from becoming politically influenced. We would like the market participants to be represented in the agricultural chambers in proportion to their role in production and the market.

[Kelemen] Many people have wondered whether the previous coalition had an agricultural policy at all....

[Lakos] Of course it did, because even inaction by the government is a kind of agricultural policy. Naturally, laws were passed, especially those on compensation and cooperatives, but budget policies also contain political statements on the framework of the food economy.

[Kelemen] Compared with this, what changes can we expect?

[Lakos] About the agricultural policy of the past four years, I would say that it almost exclusively dealt with apportioning assets; the assets of the food economy were mainly subordinated to the principles of compensation; and it tried to remedy the injuries of the past decades through giving back arable land and the land of cooperatives to people through various methods. We would like to change this. We respect the new owners but we will make every effort to establish a system of agricultural management that serves a basically efficient and competitive production, not forgetting about the livelihood and security of the producers.

[Kelemen] This also means—as you have mentioned many times—that worries about excessive support for cooperatives harming the slowly emerging private farming community are without basis?

[Lakos] We believe that private ownership will dominate, and we will establish and respect the security of ownership. What is important for us is to put the producers and other participants in the market in a position where they will have a chance for successful performance in the domestic and foreign markets, but we do not wish to give preference to any forms of organization. We expect various methods of production organization to emerge, which, unfortunately, has not happened in the past four years. The production organizers can organize these, but the raw material producers, and people in further processing and trade can also be given owners' rights of decision, overseeing an area of production each. At the same time, this mechanism can also emerge along with the cooperatives, either by the already existing cooperatives organizing the integration of household farming, or by new types of purchasing and selling cooperatives.

[Kelemen] Is this household farming the old type or something different?

[Lakos] Something completely different. The point is that the functions that were previously performed by the large farms in an integration that had a similar name will now once more have to be performed by someone. It is definitely necessary for someone to exist who can provide information, tools of production, and expert advice to the producers, and who buys and sells their produce.

[Kelemen] In order to implement all this, in addition to the legislative framework, is it also necessary to change the ministry's structure?

[Lakos] Some changes are necessary. There is some overlapping in the ministry owing to certain political viewpoints and some link to personnel. According to our plans, the rights as an authority and legislative rights would come under joint control. In addition to this, we would have a professional, an administrative, and a fourth deputy state secretary, too, who would deal with various regions and internal organizational matters, and he would also supervise the agricultural offices.

MSZP Agricultural Expert on Party Policies

94CH0318A Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 10 Jun 94 p 21

[Unattributed interview with Dr. Laszlo Lakos, member of parliament and agricultural expert of the Hungarian Socialist Party; place and date not given: "We Will Make Adjustment to the Market Easier"]

[Text] *Dr. Laszlo Lakos has been a member of three successive parliaments and is an agricultural expert of the MSZP [Hungarian Socialist Party]. He was a 26-year-old veterinarian of peasant origin when he was elected chairman of an agricultural cooperative. During the past two decades, he not only gained managerial experience but also acquired a second degree, in business administration. Considering his experience of both farming and politics, he is being regarded widely as the next minister of agriculture.*

[Lakos] The composition of the cabinet can be decided only after the coalition talks. If my party invites me to direct agriculture, I will accept the invitation. Within the MSZP there is an agricultural section made up of outstanding agricultural experts. Furthermore, among the 209 Socialist MP's there are more than 50 politicians with links to agriculture. These two factors will be able to provide a solid background for both professional and political work.

[NEPSZABADSAG] You might have to govern together with the SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrats]. Are there any differences of opinion between the two parties regarding agriculture and the food industry?

[Lakos] I know our negotiating partners, and we have maintained professional contacts in recent years. Therefore I venture to say that a basis for reaching an agreement is given. Far more important than our differences of opinion is the similarity of our views.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Whether we should aim for self-sufficiency or stimulate export is a controversy of long standing.

[Lakos] I am a practical person already because of my profession, and I am adhering to that principle also in agricultural policy. There is no free market in the agricultures of the industrialized countries; competition of protectionism and subsidies prevails. Their combined size outweighs our comparative advantage, which makes it difficult for us to compete. Nevertheless, practical considerations have decided this controversy. It follows directly from last year's and this year's unfavorable balances of trade that agricultural export will be indispensable in the medium term. Our prospects are improved by the fact that protectionism is declining in the industrialized countries. Consequently, an agricultural policy based on export will be viable in the long term.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Statistics show that purchases of food have dropped by a third within the past few years. At the same time, imports of food have increased.

[Lakos] The real solution would be a continuous rise in the standard of living, with the average Hungarian consumer becoming more demanding than at present. Knowing what the economy's performance has been like, for this we still have to wait. Faster results can be achieved through the regulation of import, through its curtailment. Naturally, we do not want to ban anything; import merely has to be regulated in the spirit of the international agreements that are in force. We will revise

our tariff system by the middle of next year, and the importation of products that can be produced also at home might decline.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Four years have been spent on transforming ownership relations, yet a new economic structure has not evolved. Who will be the players in agricultural production? Who will receive the otherwise small trickle of agricultural subsidies?

[Lakos] There will be state, cooperative, and private farms, peasant family farms will develop, and the part-time small-scale producers will remain. In view of the paucity of capital in agriculture, agricultural subsidies will be indispensable, and we intend to use them for four objectives: to aid the acquisition of property, the modernization of production, the renewal of export markets, and the financing of production.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Will there be enough money for all this?

[Lakos] The Socialist Party's program gives little data, but it does include a doubling of agricultural subsidies. Among the mechanisms of subsidization, interest subsidies will play a greater role, because that way the money will be used more effectively. If someone receives an interest subsidy of 100,000 forints, that will enable him to obtain a production loan of 300,000 to 500,000 forints. Of course, it is already a basic requirement of a deliberate agricultural program that production security and income security must be created for the credit system.

[NEPSZABADSAG] The present government created agricultural funds one after another, but has failed to ensure their effective use. What will become of those billions?

[Lakos] The agricultural funds are necessary, but there will be changes in the amounts of the funds and in the manner in which they will be used. We will be able to speak of mechanisms when drafting next year's budget.

[NEPSZABADSAG] What would be your first task upon gaining a seat on the front bench?

[Lakos] The weather is favoring crop production this year. Growers will need help in harvesting, storing, and marketing their crops.

Welfare Minister-Designate Views Tasks

AU0107165894 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 1 Jul 94 p 7

[Interview with Welfare Minister-designate Pal Kovacs by Anita Elo; place and date not given: "We Do Not Have Social Citizens' Rights"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Elo] Outgoing Welfare Minister Laszlo Surjan is satisfied with his performance of the past four years. Do you also think that the past four years brought a success story regarding the welfare?

[Kovacs] Legislation of welfare laws has been the stepchild of the previous parliament. I am only listing the laws that have not been legislated: Our health law is more than 30 years old. The reform of the health system was guided manually; that is, it was guided by government orders rather than by laws. This is not a correct thing to do. Our social security law is 20 years old, and a real social law has not been legislated. Both you and I lack social citizens' rights, and the same applies to all the 10 million inhabitants. There is no law to stipulate the tasks of those involved in social policy. There was no need for such a law in the previous regime because social policy belonged to the state. Now the churches, civil organizations, and self-governing bodies share this task with the government. We also lack a non-profit law, and the various foundations operate irregularly. This country needs a totally different social policy, a country where the government decides on the people's wages and also on the price of bread. The social policy pillars of the previous regime, namely subsidies, full employment, and so on, no longer exist, but there is nothing else to replace this either. Not even the basic elements of a new social model have emerged.... We will not have time to rest, because a multitude of regime-changing laws are missing.

[Elo] The effects of the legislative activity will only be felt in the long run. You will also have to prepare for quick measures.

[Kovacs] We must start a fireman's work, and I will only mention the major tasks here: We must review the conditions of hospitals in crisis and must broaden our support to hospitals that have not yet fallen into a crisis. [passage omitted]

[Elo] What means can the new welfare minister have at his disposal? You are not even a party chairman, like your predecessor, so you cannot use this as a political weapon.

[Kovacs] The welfare minister will also be a member of the economic cabinet. We agree with [Finance Minister] Laszlo Bekesi that we must regroup the support, and the little money we have should go to those really in need.

[Elo] Laszlo Surjan also expressed his hope that only two people would leave the Welfare Ministry, namely himself and his political state secretary. Will there be a political cleansing at your ministry?

[Kovacs] There will surely be no cleansing, but we can expect changes of personnel that are professionally justified. From outside, I see that we must change the ministry's organizational structure, but I can only give you more details on this after I learn the operation of the ministry from within. This requires time. Among the first steps, I would like to make sure that the Welfare Ministry is ruled not exclusively by doctors. We also need professionals in the field of economics, legislature, and computer sciences. [passage omitted]

Privatization of State Railways Continues

94CH0318C Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 10 Jun 94 p 5

[Unattributed article: "Hungarian State Railways Announces That Stakes Are Available"]

[Text] *Privatization of the separate units spun off recently from MAV Rt. [Hungarian State Railways Corporation] is continuing. In the first stage of this privatization, MAV Rt. wants to sell, by public tender, stakes in its four wholly-owned limited liability companies for railroad construction and maintenance. However, long-range plans call for the [partial] privatization of every one of MAV Rt.'s 51 wholly owned limited liability companies.*

Kalman Vajda, MAV Rt.'s office manager, told our correspondent that, among the corporation's wholly-owned limited liability companies, the ones not directly involved in the railroad's principal activity—i.e., in passenger and freight service—would be privatized first. However, only 49-percent stakes are being offered in the [four] limited liability companies, each of which has between 200 and 300 employees and a nominal capital between 110 million and 170 million forints. For, in the long run, the MAV Rt. must remain the majority stakeholder in the firms essential to the railroad's operation. In the future the companies will be engaged in the construction and maintenance of railroad facilities. The inclusion of outside investors is necessary to make the companies' operations more effective. The railroad's standpoint is that the 49-percent stakes may be split up among several investors.

We learned that there already have been several inquires in response to the invitation to tender announced at the end of May. For business reasons, however, the office manager was unwilling to comment on the number of inquiries. But he said that, after the privatization of the limited liability companies for railroad construction and maintenance, invitations to tender would be announced for stakes in the eight limited liability companies that repair rolling stock. Once those tenders have been closed, the partial privatization of MAV Rt.'s remaining wholly owned limited liability companies will follow.

Ecological Threat to Danube-Tisza Area

94CH0319A Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 17 Jun 94 p 6

[Article by Zoltan Szombathy: "Water for the Danube-Tisza Interfluve"]

[Text] *Rapid deterioration of the hydrological situation in the Danube-Tisza interfluve threatens to produce catastrophic ecological changes. This could also jeopardize the livelihood of local residents, some of whom might even have to resettle elsewhere.*

The problems in conjunction with the water supplies of the Danube-Tisza interfluve's plateau accumulated in the 1980's. As a result of a few dry years, the situation in several localities has become practically catastrophic. Illustrative examples of this are the alkaline lakes which, by the end of the decade, have either become swamps or disappeared, threatening also the survival of the abundant avifauna.

Since its peak in 1988-89, total water withdrawal has declined parallel with the slump in industrial and farm production. According to some estimates, however, the depletion of water supplies on the Danube-Tisza interfluve's plateau has already reached 100 percent. There is also trouble with water quality: More than 50 percent of the supplies of water used for drinking have a high iron content; 26 percent exceed the permissible level of manganese content, and 10 percent contain more ammonia than is permissible. The water in some parts of Bacs-Kiskun County is polluted also with arsenic. In spite of all this and thanks to filtration, most settlements have water that is potable. On the other hand, the situation of the 10 percent of population living on farmsteads is desperate: 100 percent of their dug wells are polluted with chemicals, and more than 40 percent have high bacterial counts. The quality of the Danube's water is tolerable. That of Tisza water is mostly unsuitable, especially along the river's Tiszakecske reach. Among the canals, the water of the Ferenc and Kigyos canals is acceptable, but what flows through the Donger and Csukaser collecting main canals during dry spells is practically sewage. The greatest danger in the case of lakes is the sharp drop in their salt content—their desalination—as a result of artificial recharging. This can upset the ecological balance, a symptom of which is the proliferation of reed grass.

What may have caused such extensive deterioration of the water supplies in the Danube-Tisza interfluve is a topic of debate even among experts. The aridness is probably the product of a combination of factors.

The main culprit has been the weather; its contribution to the situation can be estimated at about 50 percent. Successively in recent decades, there has been a paucity of precipitation, and the region suffered several years of drought. The second cause has been increasing water withdrawal from the region's water supplies. In Bacs-Kiskun County, due to the spreading of public water supply systems, water withdrawal increased eightfold between 1960 and the end of the 1980's. Although to a lesser extent, changes in land use within agriculture, and irrigation and drainage, were also contributing factors.

A study entitled "A Multipurpose System of Water Utilization for Bacska" was prepared in 1985. It proposed diverting to the desiccated region the surplus water of the Danube Basin's main canal. At current prices at the time, the investment would have cost 1.7 billion forints, but efforts to raise this amount failed.

Another study of supplying water for the Danube-Tisza interfluve's plateau was prepared in 1992. A common feature of the two versions of this study was that the water of the Danube and Tisza rivers would have been

raised, through several smaller systems, to the top of the plateau. The realization of either version would have cost 15 billion forints. Once again, of course, that much money was not available. But it is also certain that, because of the outlined problems, a comprehensive solution for supplying the plateau with water cannot be delayed much longer. The Ministry of Environmental Protection and Regional Development—in cooperation with the Ministry of Transport, Communication, and Water Resources and with the Ministry of Finance—has prepared a proposal for solving this problem of national significance. The proposal is expected to be submitted to the cabinet. Parallel with this, Bacs-Kiskun County has started planning work on a system for recharging the water supplies in the central part of the Danube-Tisza Interfluve's plateau.

Malev-Alitalia Airline Split Denied

94CH0318B Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 10 Jun 94 p 5

[Report by Rome correspondent Csaba Nagy: "Alitalia Will Not Withdraw Its Stake in Malev"]

[Text] The headquarters of Alitalia in Rome has categorically denied any intention of wanting to get rid of the stake it had acquired in Malev, our correspondent reports.

Maria Bergamin, deputy chief of Alitalia's press department, told our correspondent that Alitalia is working on several joint programs with Malev. Therefore the rumors of a possible separation are without any foundation. The Italian airline's managing director, appointed six months ago, has spoken out in the same vein, Miss Bergamin said.

The deputy chief of Alitalia's press department ended the interview with the following words: "Alitalia is about to undergo significant reorganization. The present difficulties might have led some people to conclude that problems exist in the relations between the two firms and, therefore, the Italian airline wants to part from Malev. But I repeat: We categorically deny the rumors about a separation."

Cancellation of Clinton News Conference Assessed

WS0407140494 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 4 Jul 94 p 7

[Article by Tomasz Wroblewski from Washington: "White House's Complaint: There Will Be No Clinton News Conference in Warsaw"]

[Text] *Bill Clinton is leaving for Poland today [as published] with a certain degree of anxiety. His advisers have confessed to their Polish interlocutors that the president is afraid that the visit may become a public forum for criticizing the fundamentals of U.S. foreign policy—that is, of blocking Central European countries' access to NATO.*

The Department of State and the National Security Council have worked hard to fill the president's Warsaw visit with as many symbolic gestures and words as possible and, at the same time, to limit access by the press or uncomfortable questions on the administration's specific measures.

So, the president will lay wreaths at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, at the Monument to the Ghetto's Heroes, and at the Monument of the Little Insurrectionist. He will also walk through Warsaw's Old Town and will shake hands with "ordinary" passers-by.

A number of strong and symbolic phrases will be put into the president's mouth, along the lines of: "The United States will not leave Poland in a gray area" while "Partnership for Peace is a 'stairway' to NATO." Promises will be made on maneuvers within Partnership for Peace and concerning a Polish-U.S. investment fund. No criteria will be given, or even a remote future date, for Poland's joining NATO.

In its desire to avoid public criticism of U.S. foreign policy, the White House has canceled a planned news conference by Clinton, just in case.

Predetermined Questions

The White House has also refused correspondents of independent Polish media in Washington access to meet the President. Contact with the press was settled by the President's replies to previously agreed-upon questions from Polish Television.

For the remaining reporters, a briefing was held with the participation of the proverbial "high-ranking administration officials," during which, among other things, one could hear about the history of Polish-Russian relations, about the extravagance of the Gierek era and the breakdown of trade with the USSR having been the source of Polish economic problems, that privatization and free market have both good and bad sides, and that the United States has a lot to offer Poland when it comes to solving social problems.

Support for Left Wing?

In response, presidential advisers were told that the United States, with its slums, drug addicts, and crime, is not the best model for fighting social problems. They were also told that a shift of the principles of U.S. economic aid to Poland and stressing social problems to a greater extent could be perceived as constituting support for the Pawlak government's left-wing program in return for not raising the issue of NATO membership. Presidential advisers were so indignant over the remarks made by Polish reporters that the White House issued a complaint to the Polish Embassy concerning the behavior of independent Polish media. The White House also repeated once again that there will be no news conference in Warsaw.

Clinton Visit 'Time for Continuation' of Contacts

WS0507100694 Warsaw NOWA EUROPA in Polish 5 Jul 94 p 4

[Article by W.K.: "A Time for Continuation; Prior to U.S. President's Visit and a Meeting of Central European Foreign Ministers in Warsaw"]

[Text] *There has not been a single year since 1989 without at least one visit to Poland by a high-level U.S. official. This clearly demonstrates how intensive the mutual relations are and what importance is attached by Washington to Polish-U.S. relations. Polish reporters were reminded of this by Zbigniew Lewicki, director of the Department of North and South America at the Foreign Affairs Ministry [MSZ], during a briefing at the MSZ on Monday. Lewicki presented a program for U.S. President Bill Clinton's visit to our country on 6 and 7 July.*

The visit will be covered by about 800 foreign and Polish reporters, while its agenda includes, among other activities, talks with President Lech Walesa and Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak, as well as meetings in the Sejm. No particularly extraordinary events are expected. Instead, the visit will be a continuation of the extensive contacts between the two countries that are already in place. In other words, it will be another meeting that will make it possible to discuss problems of interest to both sides, ranging from European security and Poland's role in it, to, among other issues, U.S. assistance to the Polish construction industry, as well as several trade-related issues.

It is not known whether President Clinton will play his saxophone in Warsaw. He will, however, definitely have an opportunity to talk to participants of another important, international meeting that will take place in our capital on 7 July. It will be a meeting without precedent over the past several decades—a meeting of the foreign ministers of the countries of Central Europe. The foreign ministers of Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, Albania, Slovenia, and Macedonia, will come to Warsaw at the joint invitation of Polish Foreign Minister Andrzej Olechowski and U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher. The ministers will discuss

issues of regional security, new forms of regional cooperation, U.S. investments, trade relations with the United States, U.S. assistance in solving social problems (fighting unemployment, retraining employees, establishing retirement funds), as well as issues linked to the process of democratization.

No joint decisions or declarations are expected because we are most probably past the era of breakthroughs. The time has come for continuation. Whether the continuation will result in positive effects will also depend on visits and meetings that do not necessarily have to be spectacular.

Walesa Interviewed Before Talks With Clinton

LD0107172994 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1356 GMT 1 Jul 94

[Excerpts] Warsaw, 1 Jul—In an interview for PAP on 1 July, President Lech Walesa expressed the conviction that he would find in his talks with President Bill Clinton that arguments for the U.S.'s good relations with Russia would not lessen good relations with Central and East Europe.

The president said he would not sign the amendments to the Penal Code easing antiabortion regulations.

When asked if he shared the view of Professor Zbigniew Brzezinski (expressed recently in THE NEW YORK TIMES) that Poles were afraid that U.S. policy toward Central Europe is subordinated to the U.S. policy toward Russia, the president said that "this is certainly so. Everybody always considers the bigger, stronger party. That is natural, for various reasons. I will try to show that what we are proposing is also in the interests of the United States. I am convinced that I will find that the arguments for these processes do not clash with each other and that the U.S.'s good relations with Russia will not lessen the U.S.'s good relations with Central and East Europe."

The president said that Poland today expected greater participation from the United States "at decisive moments". (...) We must remember what the main sense of the revolution that happened here (in Europe) was; it is a question of geographical and structural changes in Europe, of creating a single Europe with regard to the economy and to security."

"Until now, we have remained in the sphere of theory, of paper agreements and guarantees. The West stayed as it was, and, as for the dissolved East...it is not known what it will produce. We must explain to the United States that it is a question of greater participation by the Western economy in our part of Europe, in order to create an economic equilibrium that will cause political equilibrium. If the West does not go into East Europe, life will reconstruct the old links out of economic necessity, and these economic links will reconstruct political dependencies. It may turn out that our revolution was meaningless. Therefore, we must encourage Western factories to participate in Central and East Europe, to set up different kinds of company in order to change the economic geography, which will guarantee political stability. These are the most important issues, and I will raise them in the talks with President Clinton. (...)" Lech Walesa said.

Maintaining Poland's position, which sees the "Partnership for Peace" as a first step to full membership in NATO, the president said, "We want the same rules to apply in Partnership as on the roads. Anybody who wants to drive on the roads has to have a driver's licence. He must obey the road signs, regardless of whether he is driving a small car or a truck. You cannot drive on the left-hand side or drive while drunk. Therefore, it is necessary in all agreements for the rules to be the same, regardless of the size of the partner. NATO cannot have its own nuclear weapon and Russia its own. It cannot be so. That will be a division, and I would like a Europe with one common security. I would like a United States of Europe."

"My diary is chock-full. I have masses of meetings," the president said in answer to a question of whether, as announced earlier, he would appear as a witness before the Constitutional Responsibility Commission. Professor Jerzy Wiatr, the commission's chairman, had invited the president to its session before parliament goes into the summer recess. [passage omitted]

"We have thanked the church so many times for serving the nation so beautifully. In whose name do we have the audacity to suspect that the church would like to do something bad for the nation? This is why the investigating, the thinking, that the church will be greedy and grasping is insulting," the president said, commenting on the parliamentary debate on the procedure and the date of ratification of the Concordat. [passage omitted]

The president confirmed that he would veto the amendment to the Penal Code easing antiabortion regulations. In the president's opinion, the abortion issue—also in parliament—is examined "piecemeal". [passage omitted]

"If we only speak piecemeal and accuse piecemeal, we are making a mistake. It is too big a problem to be assessed piecemeal. (...) I cannot rely on a piecemeal assessment," the president said, clarifying his position. The president added that the amended law "will be vetoed like lightning, just as soon as it gets to me."

Foreign Minister on NATO, EU, Clinton

WS0407143094 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 2-3 Jul 94 pp 1, 8

[Interview with Polish Foreign Minister Andrzej Olechowski by Krystyna Szelestowska and Wieslaw S. Debski; place and date not given: "Many Dance Partners"]

[Excerpts] [TRYBUNA] Mr. Minister, a lot has been said recently about the possibility of your resignation. Are you really considering it?

[Olechowski] No, I am not. This is beginning to remind me of the situation with the proverbial camel. I must keep explaining that I am not taking it into account; however, the issue keeps coming up. I am even beginning to suspect that someone really wants me to resign.

[TRYBUNA] However, are there any necessary conditions that you are not going to give up?

[Olechowski] Yes, there certainly are. They include both foreign policy and those issues that are generally referred to as the reform of the ministry. This is why I am in politics. This is why it is a challenge for me. I want to do things I believe make sense. Therefore, if I am not allowed to continue my activity, I will no longer be able to be minister.

Please understand that a foreign minister does not speculate about his resignation. Even if he does have such an intention, he cannot do this, if he is responsible, any day and any moment, without detriment to the interests of the state.

[TRYBUNA] You have recently been fighting to reorganize the ministry. Why is it so important to you?

[Olechowski] I am one of those civil servants who have been working at a high level for the longest period. I have worked in four different central offices. I can see their insufficiencies, and I would like to eliminate them from the ministry of which I am now in charge. I want to do this to be able to manage the ministry in a better way.

There is also something else to it. I am a minister of the so-called presidential office. This is decided by the Constitution. I deal with two systems—the presidential system and the parliamentary one. This is why it is necessary to combine these two forces. Because the minister is not directly appointed by the parliament but after consultations with it, it is necessary for his deputies, who take part in the creation of policy, to be appointed by a free decision of the parliament. This is why we propose a separation of politics from management. It is not a new solution. It is functioning very well in many countries. [passage omitted]

[TRYBUNA] We are now beginning a hot political season. I am referring to the series of important visits to Warsaw. What do we expect of it?

[Olechowski] Our stand and our proposals have been formulated very clearly. As for the problem of the security system, the last such voice of ours was my statement delivered in Istanbul at the session of the North-Atlantic Cooperation Council, where we proposed three paths: extending dialogue with Russia; a real opening of NATO to Poland and other Central European states; strengthening and developing the CSCE. This organization is very necessary because, for example, not all countries are called "Russia" and not all countries are striving to become members of NATO. These states must have the possibility of influencing security issues on the continent.

Controversial is still the issue of the compromise between the development of dialogue between NATO and Russia, as well as the fear it causes in Central European states. I believe that the real opening of NATO to our states will remove the hindrances impeding the extension of dialogue with Moscow.

[TRYBUNA] How can the visits to Warsaw by the French prime minister and the U.S. President affect our integration with the West?

[Olechowski] We are now hosting a great European man—Prime Minister Balladur. On 8 July I will be in Germany, where I will meet with Chancellor Kohl, whose role in Europe is quite obvious. We want to specify the priorities related to German leadership in the European Union [EU], which is beginning today, and to the French leadership, which will immediately follow the German presidency. During this time, we want to make the issue of membership in the EU more credible. We want Poland to be generally perceived as a future EU member.

Second, what is needed is a new trade initiative, further liberalization of trade. We cannot compete with one hand tied behind our back. We would finally like to get moving with cooperation in the so-called third pillar—that is, in the area of justice and so on and so forth. Finally, we want to start a dialogue on agriculture and actual cooperation in the area of its restructuring.

[TRYBUNA] Do you think it is a good idea to expect Clinton to specify the date of our membership in NATO?

[Olechowski] I believe that it is natural. Has the United States gotten ready to go a step further since the time of the Brussels decision made in January of this year? If it was ready to go a step further in Russian affairs, it is possible that it will also be ready to make such a step forward in our affairs.

[TRYBUNA] Recently, during my visit to NATO Headquarters in Brussels, I heard a credible person say that Brussels is using Russia as some kind of a screen—just not to admit us into NATO...

[Olechowski] There is a great deal of truth in this. I stressed it in my official speech, and I will say it again: The main obstacle is conservatism and the inertia of this establishment, whose members often cannot cope with one another. The admission of a new member is a very serious decision. It is easier not to admit than to admit. As a result, if it is possible to postpone things, one postpones them.

[TRYBUNA] Aside from the pressure on expediting our admission into NATO, what else do you expect from the talks with the U.S. President?

[Olechowski] We must discuss security issues, that is one thing. Another thing is that the United States is one of the important organizers of external support for reforms in countries undergoing transformation. I am not speaking about insignificant sums of money or insignificant support.

It is also very important that, during his visit to Poland, President Clinton stress what has been quite extensively discussed in the United States: that today Poland is a country that has achieved success—that it to say, it is a country worth visiting; that one can do business here and that it pays to invest money here. We also want to talk about trade conditions.

[TRYBUNA] You have invited Central European foreign ministers to visit Warsaw on 7 July. For what purpose?

[Olechowski] It is a long way to go to Washington, and it is expensive; however, everyone has something to discuss there. Both the U.S. President and U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher will come to Warsaw. When our colleagues from the region and the Americans both expressed interest, we said that we were ready to arrange such a meeting.

The key is simple. These are countries that are taking advantage of the SEED-Support for East European Democracies Act [preceding six words in English]—that is, a law supporting East European democracies. At my request as well as at the request of U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher, we will host the heads of the diplomatic services of Albania, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Macedonia, Romania, Slovakia, and Hungary.

[TRYBUNA] In February, you presented the main points of Poland's East policy. However, they have not really changed our actual relations with Russia and other eastern partners...

[Olechowski] We are witnessing a rapid increase in bilateral contacts. Both sides are showing the desire to extend these contacts. Thus, we are doing something after all.

However, too little is happening in the area of economics. We have prepared proposals for concrete programs that are supposed to encourage cooperation. We have forwarded them to the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers; time is passing by and little is changing in this area. We ourselves—the Ministry of Foreign Affairs [MSZ]—do not have any influence on the negotiations concerning, for example, the commercial protocol, gas pipeline, or other economic negotiations with Russia.

[TRYBUNA] They say that it takes two to tango. Is it true that you do not really have anyone to dance with in Moscow?

[Olechowski] I do not get such an impression. The Russians are stressing that the atmosphere of Polish-Russian relations has fundamentally changed. I often meet with Minister Andrey Kozyrev; one can even refer to these meetings as permanent consultations. I hope we will host him here in Warsaw in July. I have also spoken with Vladimir Lukin, head of the Duma Committee of Foreign Affairs. The visit by Jozef Oleksy to Moscow was very useful. There was also a meeting of the prime ministers. The Russians are responding to our initiatives. Thus, we do have partners in the political sphere.

[TRYBUNA] However, there is still no breakthrough in specific issues. This was supposed to be proved by Viktor Chernomyrdin's visit to Warsaw, which, as we know, will not be paid for a long time.

[Olechowski] However, what do you consider to be a breakthrough?

[TRYBUNA] This has been specified by Chernomyrdin himself—the resolution of three or four issues, which are obvious: the construction of the gas pipeline, reduction of the debt, settlement system, banking system, insurance for commercial operations, construction of the Kaliningrad-Elblag road.

[Olechowski] Negotiations on these issues are under way. However, the differences of interests are quite considerable; sometimes they make it impossible to resolve a problem. Sometimes we witness ordinary sloppiness and a lack of activeness on the part of the administration. [passage omitted]

[TRYBUNA] Let us now revert to the situation concerning the MSZ. Do you not sometimes get the impression that a political fight is going on around you, for which the issues of the MSZ are merely the backdrop or a good pretext?

[Olechowski] Yes, I do get such an impression. Something is going on around us—it makes our work considerably more difficult. It is neither in the interest of the state nor the MSZ nor me. Such gamesmanship does not serve the reasons of the Polish state. As a result, the difficult tasks our diplomatic service must perform become even more difficult.

[TRYBUNA] Thank you for the interview.

FBI Director Wants Warsaw Office Opened Soon

LD0107144294 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1318 GMT 1 Jul 94

[Text] Warsaw, 1 Jul—Director of the FBI Louis Freeh is impressed by the speed at which the Polish Government has drawn up the legislation to facilitate the fight against organized crime. Today, at the end of his visit to Poland, Freeh said he was in favor of opening an FBI liaison office in Warsaw "as quickly as possible."

"We are impressed by the speed at which your government has drawn up new regulations, which would enable an effective fight against organized crime and at the same time protect human rights," Freeh said at a news conference in Warsaw before flying to Vilnius. He added

that the Polish parliament had done more in a short time to introduce these regulations than the U.S. Government, which took 25 years to do it.

Freeh said that the Russian mafia "is a threat to Russia, to Poland, and to the whole world." He stressed, however, that "there is no evidence that any of the criminal organizations in Russia has possession of a nuclear bomb."

Freeh Interviewed on Office

LD0107210794 Warsaw TVP Television Second Program Network in Polish 1900 GMT 1 Jul 94

[Interview with U.S. FBI Director Louis Freeh by an unidentified correspondent in Warsaw on 1 July; relayed by Warsaw TV Polonia Network—recorded; Freeh speaks in English with superimposed Polish translation]

[Text] [Correspondent] Do you think such cooperation can help combat organized crime in East and Central Europe? [sentence as heard]

[Freeh] Yes, absolutely. Organized crime is becoming an international phenomenon to such an extent that Poland and the United States should begin closer cooperation in this sphere. We just have to mobilize our forces.

[Correspondent] When will the FBI bureau open in Poland?

[Freeh] We hope to recommend this as soon as we go back to the United States. With the help of the Department of State and the White House, we will try to implement this as soon as possible. It will mean setting up a permanent FBI bureau and possibly other federal agencies in Warsaw. Its main task will be to coordinate actions between the Polish police and their U.S. counterparts.

[Correspondent] In your view, is it possible to speak about efficient combating of organized crime in Russia?

[Freeh] I think it is. I think it is possible. If you take our U.S. experiences into consideration, you could say that the FBI had not known organized crime for more than 40 years. It appeared later on and is now permanently anchored in our reality, which has lead to the corruption of a considerable part of private industry and ruling authorities. In the past 20 years, we have noted significant progress being made in combating such crime. I hope that we, as well as police forces in other countries, will be able to achieve similar results in the near future.

[Correspondent] What can you learn from the Poles, and what can you teach us?

[Freeh] Yes, as I have already said, it is an absolutely bilateral and mutual exchange of experiences. For example, the Ministry of Internal Affairs antiterrorist unit is very highly praised abroad, and we believe that its joint exercises with our antiterrorist detachments will contribute to the improvement of their abilities. Second, the Polish authorities have unique experiences in fighting organized crime in Warsaw. We are very interested in these experiences.

NATO Partnership for Peace Agreement Signed

LD0507110394 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 1000 GMT 5 Jul 94

[Text] Poland and NATO have agreed on an individual program for our country's participation in the Partnership for Peace initiative. The event took place in Brussels today at a meeting of NATO ambassadors. Jacek Safuta reports from Brussels:

[Safuta] This is the first individual program, out of a total number of 21, to be agreed upon by NATO and the states that are to take part in the Partnership for Peace program. From the start, Poland stated that it wanted to become a full member of the alliance. The Partnership for Peace program will facilitate this process.

Amendments have been made in the program with regard to subjects that are of primary significance to Poland, such as air defense, convergence of command, control and communications systems, and democratic control over the armed forces. Peacekeeping missions and a long list of joint exercises are also included.

The program does not specify the costs of this cooperation. Poland's ability to absorb these costs will, according to NATO, be a test of whether Poland will be able to fulfil its responsibilities if it becomes a member.

Walesa To Resign If Abortion Law Adopted

LD0107135094 Rome RAI Televideo Teletext in Italian 1321 GMT 1 Jul 94

[Text] Polish President Lech Walesa will resign if parliament gives its final approval to the abortion law. "Innocents cannot be murdered," Walesa said in an interview given to the Italian Catholic television station "Telepace."

Last night, the Polish Senate approved a law that envisages the liberalization of the abortion law, following a similar vote in the lower house. The president's veto can be overcome only by a qualified majority in both houses of the parliament.

Walesa's Words 'Twisted'

LD0107181294 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1700 GMT 1 Jul 94

[Text] Andrzej Drzycimski, the president's spokesman, has denied that President Lech Walesa intends stepping down from office if the Sejm rejects the presidential veto and eases regulations concerning the admissibility of abortions.

Drzycimski explained that REUTER had twisted the president's words when reporting on Lech Walesa's interview for Italian television. According to the

spokesman, although Lech Walesa did not rule out a possibility of resignation, he did not do so in a categorical manner. Drzycimski added that the president had given the interview in question on 9 June, which was before the adoption of amendments to the penal law by the Sejm.

The interview for Italian television to which REUTER refers is to be carried this evening. In this interview, Lech Walesa says that he would resign rather than sign the law allowing abortions. The president stresses that he will have no part in the murder of the innocent.

Walesa Airs Views on Current Issues

LD0407193194 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1208 GMT 4 Jul 94

[Interview with President Lech Walesa by an unidentified correspondent of the Radio Information Agency; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Mr. President, what is your opinion in connection with the Sejm's decision to postpone the ratification of the concordat until the new Constitution is adopted? You commented on this decision briefly: Enough of the commies.

[Walesa] My opinion about it is obviously negative. I believe that a bad thing has happened, but, at the same time, I think that the time to come out in the open is coming. The time has come to view the interest of the state in a more transparent manner, to see who represents it and who acts to the detriment of the state, both internally and externally. Proof of what I have said will now begin to show up.

[Correspondent] You have described the postponement in the ratification of the concordat as an offensive of the left-wing forces.

[Walesa] Well, it was not too precise to say left-wing forces. I think that a more precise description would be: the people who see the interest of Poland in a broad manner, who first and foremost, see the interest of Poland and not as a game of small particular interests. The forces that fought for a free Poland now have to find even more strength to stop the struggle that is especially personified by the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD]. And I think we will all come to our senses.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, you have announced that concrete steps would be taken on this issue. What will these steps be?

[Walesa] This will have to be done in a general manner. We will have to demand that the nation take more interest in what is happening in Poland to provide arguments against bad policies, bad ideas, to awaken the silent majority because, without this majority, we will have, as it were, political capers that do not serve Poland well.

[Correspondent] U.S. President Bill Clinton begins his visit to Poland on Wednesday. Do you expect any breakthrough will be made during this visit on the issue of Poland's joining NATO?

[Walesa] Not a breakthrough maybe because decisions about it will not be taken here. It is NATO and the West that have to bring about the breakthrough. On the other hand myself, and we, will provide arguments that this time it is we who are right; that, as we maintained in 1939 that the issue was not about Gdansk and they did not want to die for Gdansk, they believed us only when the war reached London and Paris. So here I am convinced now that we are in a similar situation. We are saying that there is an opportunity to build one Europe as far as economy and security are concerned. And if certain moves are not performed at a time when such an opportunity exists, they may only reappear again years later. That is why we must not lose our opportunities. There is such an opportunity, there is still such an opportunity for peace in Europe and for creating, as I have said earlier, the united states of Europe.

[Correspondent] What, apart from that, do you expect from President Clinton's visit?

[Walesa] There is nothing new. My request and our request still stands. I still hope that the United States will be more active when new opportunities are being created in Europe, that the United States will not leave us alone because this game of various interests may interfere with the main concept. The economic and military presence of the United States and the presence as a mediator and constructor is indispensable.

[Correspondent] Let us come back to domestic issues. If the Sejm rejects your veto and definitely relaxes the regulations allowing abortion, what will your move be on this matter?

[Walesa] This has already been decided. I will sign my name on a veto to this bill today. There will be no change, the bill has already been passed to me and will be signed today.

[Correspondent] Will you reiterate your declaration on your possible resignation if the Sejm rejects it?

[Walesa] Even 20 terms in office would not be enough to make me change my mind.

[Correspondent] How do you assess the fact that President Yeltsin declined the invitation to the commemoration events of the Warsaw uprising? What was your motivation when you issued the invitation?

[Walesa] I am not sure whether the reply is a definitive reply. I deeply believe that the date and the place would be appropriate to close that stage together, so that the main forces would not return to it again. My motivation was that here the leaders of Russia and Germany, the main perpetrators, and ourselves should tell the world that this matter is now closed. Of course some accounts

should still be settled, but off the main track and not as something which is an obstacle for us to create new concepts.

[Correspondent] When issuing invitations to the Russian and German presidents, were you aware that this would result in opposition from some circles?

[Walesa] Of course I was aware of it. What, according to my plan, was to happen and what had to happen would in itself constitute an argument that I was right. But this has to happen. These people have a certain thinking process here and now. I understand them. I myself paid a high price for that war—my father. I bear a grudge because of that war and I bear a grudge against Germany, but I am not being motivated by this, despite a personal loss. I am being guided by something else. My objective is a new Europe, the future, despite the grudge which many people have, including myself.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, I would like to come back to the issue of NATO. Do you support the idea of the so-called fast track to NATO membership for Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary? This idea is being supported by a large part of the U.S. Congress.

[Walesa] Yes, I am in favor but my concept is slightly different. We are not running away from Russia. We are not afraid of Russia. We only want to create in an evolutionary way one joint security system in Europe. This cannot be created without geographical changes. Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia can leave the zone of uncertainty today. Let us have a look, what happened in the area of geography? In fact nothing. In the same way in which there was a division into West Europe and NATO before, now despite the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, this zone has remained a no-man's land, uncultivated and uncared for [sentence as heard]. And it still remains a zone of uncertainty. Consequently, I would like these processes to happen quicker because they will determine the direction and the future of all of us. That is why I am for embarking on this subject quickly.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, you have said that we are not running away from Russia and that we are not afraid of Russia. However, are you not in fact concerned that Russia has been included in the Partnership for Peace program on the same principles as Poland, or that there has been an announcement on close cooperation between NATO and Moscow in the area of security in Europe?

[Walesa] This is an evolutionary process. Russia still exists in many people's mentality as the Soviet Union and is often perceived as such. Consequently, a transitional period is needed to alleviate this problem and bring it home to people. I regard the Partnership for Peace program as similar to the way in which auto traffic is organized in the world. Everyone who wants to drive in the west, irrespective of the fact that he has a Polish driving license, must have a certificate saying that he knows how to behave and that he knows other people's road signs. The Partnership for Peace program is such a list of road signs identical for everyone.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, there is a theory, which often crops up in discussions, that isolation of Russia can be a great threat to Europe. What are you afraid of more: Russia's isolation on the international arena, or imperialist tendencies in its policy, which you have mentioned?

[Walesa] Fifty years ago isolation was possible. Today it is not really possible. Let us have a logical look at this area. We are technologically closer to Russia than to Germany or France. Consequently, we will not have much chance to succeed with our products in the west for a long time yet. So, whether we want it or not, we will seek cooperation with Russia and among ourselves [as heard]. As a result, by accepting this reasoning, we need the west to become greater and better partners, but for the east. For this reason it is impossible to isolate Russia or this entire area. This is not against Russia. We think that one can help Russia but this should be done in a variety of ways. Money alone and the United States alone will not save Russia. All of us through cooperation, through similar cooperation in similar technologies which we have, have a greater chance to help Russia and move in the direction Russia and not against Russia [as heard].

[Correspondent] Why, in your opinion, should the chief of staff be under the president and not, as in many western states, under the minister of defense?

[Walesa] This looks differently. I remember what we have always been saying. The army was used for political purposes. Police, military and foreign affairs should not belong to any political party. They should serve the whole nation. They should not be involved in party conflicts.

However, if we include the chief of staff who would be influenced by political trends, which would be the case in the structure different from the one I am proposing, you can imagine that the next elections will bring seven parties to the government and each party would want its deputy minister. Then there will be new elections. Some people who do not agree may take some military divisions with them. They will bring a great political division which cannot take place in the army or in the internal affairs ministry, internal defense, or in the foreign ministry. Taking this into account I want the president, elected by the whole nation and above the parties, I want him to have it under his influence because he will guarantee that the system will not be political; unless activists who want a different model want to change the way the president is elected, so that he would come from a party which gets majority. The president would be political and would politicize the army.

Whatever we say this is dangerous and very bad. We have to prevent this because otherwise in a few years time we will pay for the division of the army.

[Correspondent] How do you see the role of the National Defense Committee [KOK] and the National Security Bureau [BBN]?

[Walesa] Even in our circumstances where the system is still not stable, and we are in the process of building it, we do not have the constitution, we need a body which would centralize all powers where decisions respected by all are taken. We do not have this kind of body at the moment. If there is no KOK, where would the president relate to the parliament, the Sejm, and the government? There is no other way. We must maintain that in order to smoothly rule the country.

[Correspondent] How do you, Mr. President, assess the policy of Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak's government so far? What are the greatest successes and failures of this government?

[Walesa] It is still too early for assessments, everything is not settled yet. There are various things outstanding, as for example the issue of the concordat. The prime minister was asked to make a statement on this. Had he done so, things would have become more clear and we would know which side he is on. I am not condemning the prime minister here, but what I am saying is that not everything is stable and settled about Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak's government. Nobody has a clear and certain view in what direction Prime Minister Pawlak and his government are going.

[Correspondent] When it comes to Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak's policy, what is that you are afraid of most of all?

[Walesa] Of destroying all that has been so difficult to create over these four years, that is: local government, market economy, and competitiveness through various types of obstacles and barriers at borders [as heard].

I am concerned about all this, about openness and market economy. I do, however, hope that we shall overcome all this.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, was the work and the review conducted by the Sejm subcommission with respect to the Foreign Affairs Ministry personnel policy an attempt to take over one of the presidential ministries by the government coalition?

[Walesa] I do not know whether one can call it conspiracy. However, it has not worked and has backfired against those who had done this. I can understand that this sort of thing can happen in reaction to something, but it has to be done with a certain amount of class and it must serve the nation. What has happened is: A certain amount of authority was granted to a foreign affairs department and the world got to know about it. Someone here does not want to serve the best interests of the nation. Even if something similar had happened, it should have been handled in such a way that the matter would have remained an internal issue in the country. Otherwise everyone becomes a loser. This was a bad way of defending Poland's interests.

[Correspondent] If there are similar attacks by the coalition against the other presidential ministries, the National Defense Ministry and the Internal Affairs Ministry, do you intend to do anything, and if you do, in how do you intend to do it?

[Walesa] If such a need arises, definitely yes. I think that everyone who watches the Polish political scene understands that these three ministries cannot be political and that they cannot be politically divided, and that they will help me contain this situation by not allowing this to happen. The issue is not solutions for today but for tomorrow. The repercussions can be bad for everyone.

[Correspondent] The warm acceptance by you, Mr. President, of the Strategy for Poland program came as a surprise to many post-Solidarity politicians, and not only just to them. Do you maintain your support for this program?

[Walesa] Just a minute, just a minute, I have never said I support this program. I only said that after a five-year period here was a program which is the most clear, which points to issues that need to be solved, and says how it is going to try and solve them. I am not at all going into whether these are the most important issues, and I am not at all going into whether they are well arranged. I am just saying that it was the best prepared material in this quinquennium. And experts, especially in the economy, have to consider whether it is realistic, whether the subjects were well selected. But that is a different statement. I liked the way all this material was prepared.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, the Strategy for Poland program has already led to many changes in the economic departments, more are being announced, for deputy ministers, for instance. How do you perceive these changes and the easing away of post-Solidarity politicians from these departments?

[Walesa] I think that for pluralism and for clarity tomorrow such moves will be a cure. It would be worse, and this is something we are suffering now from, from fuzziness [sentence as heard]. People do not know who to support and how to support. Now the situation will be clearer and more legible. All those who were good and are going to be treated dishonestly will play a greater role tomorrow. Whereas otherwise they would have got passed over and it would not have been clear whether they would have joined this political system, and that is why in this respect I see pluralism and tomorrow's solutions rather favorably, although today this is unfavorable.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, you have signed the neo-popiwek [tax on above-normative pay increases] act which, it is reasonable to assume, is not going to be liked by Solidarity. Do you not fear losing Solidarity votes in the presidential elections?

[Walesa] I have already lost so much, and I am going to lose more, but I am not being guided by the votes which I am going to need tomorrow, I am being guided by the interests of the country. Because we cannot destroy these achievements, we cannot let it all go free, because we will destroy the reform. And that is why, being guided by the interests of the country, I had no choice. And these strikes that we have had, and which are still going on, tell me unequivocally that the pressure on pay would have been so great that the stronger would have pushed out the weaker, and, and that is not the issue; the issue is of guiding the state but guiding it logically. And that is why, with regret, I am sorry about the votes I am going to lose, but as president I could not have acted otherwise.

[Correspondent] You, Mr. President, have on many occasions correctly predicted the results of elections, both parliamentary and local self-government. Can you predict the results of the presidential elections?

[Walesa] Of course I can. I have said many times that if we appraise people for their work, there is no fear, and no one so far has done more work than we have at our center. And the fact that the needs were greater and the people are dissatisfied with this, that's also true. But if we get through with what we have done and what we have not, and why, I have no fears about the future victory.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, is there a chance that the post-Solidarity groups will put up a single candidate in the coming presidential elections?

[Walesa] If they put up, if we count them all, it makes up 16 percent. That is how much he can take. Seventy percent of people are outside. I count on people who do not take part in political games. At some point, when they see effort and why things were not achieved, they would join the winners [as heard].

[Correspondent] How do you intend to win the votes of this electorate?

[Walesa] Efficiently. As I was saying, the majority of the nation is not involved, is lost in those conflicts and arguments. When they see what has been done and why, what has not been done and why, I am confident about the results.

[Correspondent] So far, Aleksander Kwasniewski has been at the top in preelection polls. Are you not afraid that this support may increase before the elections?

[Walesa] Even if this would be the case, this result is his best and it does not give him any chances.

[Correspondent] Would you seek support of the center-right parties, and is reconciliation with former allies possible?

[Walesa] Everything is possible. However, nobody, no party would subordinate the president either politically or personally, as I have proved. This must also bring results.

[Correspondent] Let's move on to local elections. How do you assess local election results?

[Walesa] Local elections were not and are not political but they will be turned political. Those who had more brought in more people and they will think that political parties and their programs gained support. This is not true. People at the bottom in small places and towns where they know each other elect in a different way. They support work and projects and not politics. That is why whatever we say, people are guided by different criteria and that is how local elections should be perceived.

[Correspondent] Listening to statements by some members of the government talking about the setback or postponement of the local government reform, are you not afraid that this reform will be stopped?

[Walesa] No. It may be slowed down, because high decisions are very important. However, there will first be increasing social pressure and second, we have already set in motion 50 percent of the economy guided by healthy principles. The economy will be forcing necessary changes, sometimes illegally. I am not afraid because life will not be cheated by politicians. Politicians are not able to spoil a lot at present.

[Correspondent] You have accepted an invitation from the Constitutional Accountability Commission and you will stand before it as a witness. What are you going to tell the martial law authors, and when are you going to do that?

[Walesa] Of course we have to come to an agreement because my schedule is very tight. We have to establish when this will be possible. I am prepared to give evidence. However, I think that they will give me a miss, because I do not remember any details and I am not really interested in them. Politically I have and I still do assess this [imposition of martial law] in an unequivocal manner as a crime committed against the Polish nation. It was a crime committed by people who were then in charge of the country.

The most important thing with regard to this crime, which is little talked about but very important, is that the nation's spine was broken. There was an enormous social enthusiasm, social unity. Millions were prepared to bear sacrifices, they wanted changes and were willing to change. But martial law made people, particularly the leading figures, join unions, sign loyalty pledges, and reduced the defense for people they were with—all that resulted in divisions which will continue to function for the next 20 years. This was the greatest crime. The politicians should not have done it. They should have joined the nation and be with it, like I did it in Radom. I did it in a decisive manner, in fact against my plan, but in order to be together with the nation at a difficult moment.

[Correspondent] Are you in favor of punishing Generals Jaruzelski and Kiszczak in some way?

[Walesa] I am for bringing them to trial, however, when it comes to punishing them, I think that they have already been punished by the very fact that the political system has changed, irrespective of the elections here and now, and by the fact that the Soviet Union has been disbanded. If they had acted differently, it is possible that the old system would have remained. I am a man who draws conclusions. That is why I am for bringing them to account, but politically, and I am for a historical judgement.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, you are criticizing and have criticized on many occasions the news and current affairs programs shown on public television. On the other hand, you are defending Chairman Walendziak. How can you explain this?

[Walesa] I have not changed my opinion about Chairman Walendziak. I think that it is unfortunate that all this has happened. However, since it has already happened, we should give him a chance. Perhaps I do not have a monopoly on all wisdom. There is not enough time to make more changes. Let him show what he can do. If someone wants to make political attacks against him, I said that I would defend Walendziak because he should be given a chance. I did have a different opinion but I am not guided by emotions or bias against a person. I am guided by what can serve Poland and whether this stands a chance. I know that television is a great mechanism, and that it needs an entrepreneur who can take control of it and who has some idea on what this is all about. For this reason I thought that it was a pity. Walendziak is a talented man but not a manager. He did not have an opportunity to be a manager, not on this scale. So I thought it was a pity to destroy him. I regarded this as his destruction. But he himself as well as others thought that I was personally biased. It is not true.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, what are your main charges against public television?

[Walesa] Today it is hard to say. It is so much in bits and so decalibrated that for half an hour you get a program which is really inspiring, and in half an hour you get another one which overturns the whole of the previous half hour or even more. So it is all in bits, it is not yet stabilized. It might still all stabilize, but today it is complete confusion.

[Correspondent] And what about where news is concerned?

[Walesa] It varies. We have had a great many objections, because it cannot be so that the most important institutions in the state do something and some little private affairs are more important. There is no hierarchy of importance, I mean the selection is sort of sporty, or to put it another way, it's all newsy. Well, there can be all sorts of news: Someone gets in a good shot with a catapult, that's news, but, well, but, there you are, but there has to be some relative weight, some importance, well, whatever we say, the country exists, it has to have its leaders, and this has to be, although it is boring, this has to be controlled, so the hierarchy is important here. Of course it must not be boring, there must not be too much of it, but neither can it be omitted.

[Correspondent] How do you, Mr. President, see the approval by the Sejm of the report on its work by the National Broadcasting and Television Council?

[Walesa] Well, the Sejm has its powers. It is interesting that the Senate did not approve it and the Sejm did, and it was exactly the other way round when you look at the percentages, so, once again this indicates some sort of accidental rather than sensible actions. I knew this would happen, because I even said in public that I did not believe the Sejm would be capable of dismissing the Council for a variety of reasons, and it did as I thought. But history will judge what it has done.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, several weeks ago, in an interview for Italian television, you said that if the Sejm were to reject your veto on abortion, you would not rule out abdication for a day. Do you confirm this?

[Walesa] No, I said that I knew an example like that, of that kind of approach. I will be more resolute and will respond to such an eventuality more resolutely.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, the strike at the Lucchini steel plant has been going on for more than three weeks now and the mood of the workforce is getting more and more radical. By now we already have a hunger strike. Do you intend to take any steps in this matter?

[Walesa] Of course I am available, and if I might be of use, then I am here to serve the people, and especially steelworkers.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, it has been said on many occasions in the Polish press than Poland is represented, especially abroad, by people who were compromised in the past. Here the example of our ambassador in Moscow, Stanislaw Ciosek, is cited, for instance. Do you not believe that above all else there should be some accountability for their past, especially from people who represent us abroad?

[Walesa] Of course there should be accountability, but again, Russia is a special country, a special situation, and it needs special people who are specially knowledgeable about it. And there was a period in our history when Ciosek was really expedient in that position and he carried out his duties very well, and I was very happy with him. Whereas these other things that I hear about Ambassador Ciosek were and are not known to me, and they have to be clarified.

But, as I say, both at home and the representation abroad, I am saying that there are different places, different interests and they have to be resolved in different ways. And that's why Ambassador Ciosek and his ambassadorship has to be interpreted in that way.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, you did not want to appraise Waldemar Pawlak's government, saying it was

too early. I would like to ask what your collaboration with the prime minister has been like so far, what is it like?

[Walesa] I have to say that it has varied, it's not been too bad, although, as I say, for the time being this government is still seeking its place, learning the matter, and because of that, so far there have not yet been any decisions which would somehow force our joint action. So far each of us has been doing his duties. Things are not bad.

[Correspondent] And if we were to try and compare this government, or the period of work of this government, with, for instance, the government of Hanna Suchocka. Do you believe that during the early period of its work it has had more successes or more failures than that government?

[Walesa] Each government was in a slightly different political and economic situation. But some things have already started to bring profit, some things have already started to show the sense of those reforms. We have to remember that it was bad that that was how it happened, but we have to remember that the worst work had already been done by the previous government. Now this work amounts more to smoothing things out, merely to setting things straight. It's happened the way it did: The dirtiest, hardest work was done by the previous governments, things are going to be much, much easier for this one, and that is why it will have achievements but they will be thanks to those governments.

[Correspondent] And perhaps the last question, Mr. President, there has been much specualation that the present government may not last until the end of its term. Do you see that as possible?

[Walesa] Of course anything is possible. We are only human beings who just do not know when anything might happen, either with small things or with major things. But, as I say, all this has to take place in proper conditions. We are developing the law, a state of law, a democracy, and because of this, as president I would like to respect all these things and observe them, and whatever life brings, I will try not to let it take me unawares.

Kolodko's 'Strategy for Poland' Assessed

PM0107135294 Szczecin GLOS SZCZECINSKI in Polish 22 Jun 94 p 4

[Article by J. Zarzycki: "Strategy for Poland: The Deputy Prime Minister's Decalogue"]

[Text] The objection that the coalition government formed by the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] and the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] has not formulated its own socioeconomic program is no longer true thanks to the document entitled "Strategy for Poland," drafted under directions from Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister Grzegorz Kolodko. When we consider the meaning of these two words, "strategy" and "program," we can say that the gap has been filled to overflowing. It is as if, instead of the bowl of soup we were expecting, the chef had placed a whole large tureen on the table in front of us.

As regards the document's length, including the introduction it comprises 69 pages and is divided into 10 sections dealing with key economic programs. The introduction also has 10 subsections, which could suggest that that number has some special significance. So far, it is difficult to say what that significance might be.

Nor have the programs been arranged in a haphazard sequence. To judge by the titles, it appears that a political hierarchy of significance has been applied. This is most certainly true of the first five programs. Their titles are arranged as follows: 1. Partnerlike Labor Relations and a Pay Regulation System Based on the Negotiation Mechanism; 2. Reform of the Social Welfare System; 3. Counteracting Unemployment; 4. Development of Rural Areas; 5. Investment in Human Capital. The remaining programs concern problems associated directly with the national economy and finance sectors.

A more detailed reading of the "Strategy for Poland" document, albeit done without making a thorough analysis of the significance of its content, assures us that the whole has been prepared to a professional standard. In addition, the reader's attention is drawn to its layout and graphic design.

So what about the content? Opinions are divided here. Everything depends on who is doing the assessing. Professor Grzegorz Kolodko himself is well pleased with his opus, as observers could see for themselves during the recent press conference at the Council of Ministers' Office. When discussing his work, Prof. Kolodko uses adjectives almost to the exclusion of everything else—such as "pragmatic," "comprehensive," "long-term," or "conciliatory." In addition, he is keen on listing all of the institutions and people who have given a positive opinion of the document. He also believes that it has a good chance of meeting the expectations of a variety of autonomous economic organizations and institutions. So far, the only representative of these to have given the "Strategy for Poland" an unequivocally positive assessment is the Polish Business Council.

All in all, to judge the public reaction to the document on the basis of reviews and opinions carried in the newspapers and in radio and television programs, "Strategy for Poland" seems to have almost as many advocates as it has opponents. The first emphasize its comprehensive nature, while the others accuse it of excessive optimism. However, there is a clear imbalance between the number of the positive and negative opinions, to the disadvantage of the former. First of all, the authors of the document are repeatedly charged with displaying an altogether too happy-go-lucky approach to the figures and percentages quoted in statistical reports and

intended to illustrate the results of the economic processes expected to take place in the years 1994-7. Indeed, the tables appended to the document suggest that, apart from those indicators that should go down, all of the others will go up in a most obvious manner. Thus, we should register notable increases in employment figures, the value of the gross national product, the productivity index, old age and disability pensions, national consumption figures, the value of investment projects, exports, and the state budget. On the other hand, the value of public debt is expected to decrease, as is the unemployment index, and the balance of our foreign trade turnover....

There is also much controversy over the program designed to counter unemployment and over the declaration that the unemployment index in 1997 will go down only to 14 percent (last year, it amounted to 17.2 percent). In addition, commentators doubt that it will be possible to bring inflation down to single figures (at present, the inflation rate amounts to 30 percent). Others add that what the country needs more urgently at the present time is a detailed timetable of the scheduled progress of our economy, whereas the "Strategy for Poland" document fails altogether to give a detailed program of anything.

Our own view on this subject is as follows: It is good that the document was prepared at all because it is the first program in a long time to draft a long-term strategy for Poland's socioeconomic development. It can provide a basis for a debate on the road that our enterprises and our whole country should follow in the future. It is also important to note that there is nothing in its content that would indicate a definitive departure from the direction we have adopted and an abandonment of market economy principles.

Iliescu Letter Responds to Impeachment Motion

AU0407194794 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1313 GMT 4 Jul 94

[Letter from President Ion Iliescu to the lawmakers of Parliament on the opposition's motion to suspend him from office; read by Chamber of Deputies Speaker Adrian Nastase at the joint extraordinary session of Parliament in Bucharest—live]

[Text] Speaker of the Senate, Speaker of the Chamber of Deputies, and Senators and Deputies:

I have taken note of the letter of the standing bureaus of the two chambers of Parliament, thus bringing to my attention the fact that 167 senators and deputies have registered a proposal to suspend me from office.

Considering the fact that Article 95, Paragraph 2 of the Constitution stipulates that the president may offer explanations to Parliament regarding the deeds that he has been charged with, I am addressing the Romanian Parliament, as a fundamental institution of the law-governed state, to express my point of view with respect to the issues that were raised and to offer information that would allow the distinguished members of our lawmaking bodies to assess the facts and make a decision based on those facts.

Esteemed parliamentarians, I consider the charges against me as groundless with respect to the current constitutional order and as lacking all real basis. They distort the real sense of the answer I gave to a question formulated by a local councillor during a meeting I held in Satu Mare with representatives of the local authorities. The authors of the request to commence the procedure of suspension assert that the statements I made flagrantly violated several stipulations of the Constitution and various laws—for example, Articles 41 and 42 on the protection of private property and the right to inherit it; Article 21 guaranteeing free access to justice; Article 16, Paragraph 2, proclaiming that no one is above the law; Article 21, Paragraph 2, stipulating that no law may prohibit the exertion of the right of persons to turn to justice; and Article 123, Paragraph 2, referring to the fact that judges are independent and are to submit solely to the law; similarly, they also invoke Article 3 of the Civil Code; Article 3 of Law Number 92 of 1992 on the Organization of Courts of Justice; Article 271, Paragraph 1; and Articles 25 and 27 of the Penal Code.

I have reread the aforementioned articles of the Constitution and the invoked laws. I compared the things I said in Satu Mare with the contents and the spirit of those normative acts, and I confess that I have found no incompatibility between the aforementioned legal stipulations and my assertions. All the six charges against me stem either from noncomprehension or the biased interpretation of my answer, in which I was actually requesting that the Constitution and the laws of the country be observed.

I did not disregard the fundamental rights of our citizens, I did not situate myself above the law, and I did not impede upon the independence of judges, but rather I urged that current legal regulations be observed and that the requests of the citizens be solved on the basis and in the spirit of the currently existing legal system.

Considering the fact that my statement came as an answer to a question addressed directly to me during an informal discussion, it was, of course, quite possible for certain unfortunately put expressions to appear, but even if that should be the case, they could not possibly be interpreted as extremely grave stances and, so much the less could they be considered as a genuine act of dictatorship and an attempt upon the independence of judges. However, after having reread what I said, I cannot reproach myself with anything but respect to the substance of what I asserted then.

The document proving that the charges against me lack any basis is the very statement I made during the meeting I held on 20 May at the headquarters of the Satu Mare Prefect's Office.

One of the local councilors raised the issue of the nationalized dwellings, briefing me on the fact that, in numerous cases, the local administration finds itself in the situation of having to evacuate the tenants on the basis of certain court rulings that disregard the law stipulating that the legal validity of the current renting contracts is to be prolonged over the next five years. Owing to the fact that the issue had been well-known to me, especially that citizens had sent me a great number of complaints that told me of similar cases, I gave the following answer, which I will reproduce after the magnetic tape recording:

Quote, the law—the law on the nationalized dwellings—is being debated by parliament. Therefore, the law that has already been passed and promulgated on the protection of the tenants over the next five years stipulates that all such cases should be solved on a legal basis. This is being debated by parliament. Parliament did not hurry, precisely because many such situations have emerged, and during this period of time the parliament commissions, together with specialized bodies of the government, have held consultations with representatives of the owners and of the tenants, trying to clear up all these differing situations. The law will be passed. A legal basis will be created to fundamentally solve the problem.

That is why I said that, during the current period, the mentioned court of justice should not have ruled that way before any fundamental legal solutions are established. For the time being the existant law is valid, until the new one is passed. Therefore I agree with you, you are right, it is an abuse perpetrated against you. And this would deserve. [sentence as heard] The local administration, the specialized units should carry out their functions as protectors of the public interest. I mean the local administration and the specialized units; the ICRAL [State Enterprise for Housing Construction, Repair, and

Administration]. I heard that trials have been initiated in Bucharest as well, and the ICRAL, which is the representative of the public interest, does not show up in courts. No doubt, abuses, hired hands may appear here as well. They are paid. They, as persons, public servants of such institutions, who refuse to go and defend the interests of the tenants and public interest. [sentence as heard] And then in courts there is but one party pleading in favor of its case, so the courts give in. They should not give in. Because, legally, they are not covered. All the rulings of the courts are illegal, they do not have a legal basis to restore property as long as there is no law establishing in which context and in which way former owners, whose houses have been nationalized, are to be restored their properties—or other similar legal issues.

That is the fundamental issue, and they should be patient until the law is passed and they should act solely on the basis of that law, being properly covered in the legal sense, and this refers both to courts and to local administrations. The administration should not carry out court rulings that lack the necessary legal basis and is not allowed to evacuate citizens from their homes. People have come to observe, people who, with a similar speed had been evacuated from their homes. In other cases neither the local administrations nor the courts move so fast to solve other problems. However, in such cases, with extraordinary speed, the court, on one day, passes its ruling, on the following day the local administration comes and throws the man out of his home, and on the third day the party that was interested in this whole thing came and had the building bulldozed to build a new house. I am not telling you any names, but the person in question is a dignitary, a parliamentarian dealing in real estate, and who obtained both the support of the judge and that of the ICRAL, the support of everyone for the building site to be cleared so that he can build something there and do good business. This is the source, as he said, of abuse and corruption. We will have to reunite the forces of the honest people, working both in the administration and in the juridical bodies, to protect the law and public interest and the interests of the citizens, unquote.

From this text, it is obvious that no attempt has been made to infringe upon the independence of the judges, but that we are rather dealing with a clear plea for the observation of the existing legal framework. My answer proceeds from the very premise that no one is above the law. This means that the courts are also not above the existing laws, but rather that they should be first in observing them. The courts can only pass judgments on the basis of extant laws. Therefore, I was explicitly referring to the legal bases of the court sentences mentioned by the councillor who put that question to me.

The second premise from which I started was also clearly specified in my arguments. The problem of nationalized buildings has not yet been legally resolved. Therefore, I said that existing law is still valid, until a new law is passed. I was referring to the extant law, which ensures the protection of the tenants for the next five years. To justify the delay in the adoption of legislative regulations in this respect, I recalled the diversity of the situations that the law must tackle and the efforts being made in Parliament to find a solution as correct as possible. Consequently, I said that the court decisions on enabling the former owners to take possession of their houses and on evacuating the tenants have no legal basis, as long as the law does not establish the framework within which a former owner—whose property has been nationalized or who is facing another legal situation—is given back that property. I further said: This is the basic problem.

I invite you to read my statement in Satu Mare again. The essence of the problem I tackled there was that court decisions must have a legal foundation if we are to come up with a basic resolution of the problem. Hence, where is the violation of the Constitution and the disregard for the laws?

The request to start the impeachment procedure also mentions that my statements, quote, negate basic constitutional values and the essential prerogative of one of the three great authorities of the state, unquote. Article 80, Paragraph 2 of the Constitution stipulates: Romania's president must see to it that the Constitution is observed and that public authorities function properly. To this end, the president exercises the function of mediating among the state powers and between the state and society. Therefore, it is explicitly clear that the president has not only the duty, but also the obligation to see to it that legality is observed and that public authorities function properly, including the legal authority.

I have not violated the Constitution through my statements in Satu Mare. Moreover, I expressed a constitutional obligation, which requires that I exert my function of mediating among the powers of the state as well as between the state and society. I have always appealed to the legal foundation of the justice system and administration and have explicitly asked that noone should act without legal backing.

I did not pronounce myself on the issue of a fundamental solution of the nationalized homes. However, I pleaded that we wait for the law currently being discussed by Parliament. As can be seen from the text of my answer in Satu Mare, which was fully reproduced here before, I did not make the statement attributed to me by the 167 parliamentarians, according to which justice has placed itself outside the law. In the answer given in Satu Mare, I strictly referred to those instances when certain courts have shunned the existing legislation. I have not spoken out in favor of either the former owners or the tenants. I only insisted that the actual solution should be made on legal bases and concluded with the appeal that we should defend the law and the public and citizen's interests.

Messrs. parliamentarians, I suggest that we now tackle the extremely difficult problem of the nationalized homes. The presidency receives almost daily desperate appeals from certain people who are either evacuated from their homes, or are asked to pay exorbitant rents as

a result of the return of certain buildings to their former owners, or are submitted to constant pressure and threats. In such a delicate sphere, where much injustice has been accumulated in the past, we cannot and are not allowed to promote solutions that will aggravate the already existing conflicts and will create new sources of tension. We are not allowed to promote unilateral approaches, which can do injustice either to the owners or the tenants. We should particularly avoid politicizing this issue and turn it into an electoral dispute. That is why I welcomed Parliament's decision to proceed to discussing this law, since Parliament is the only one empowered to find a solution to this problem.

I have pointed out in the past, including in Satu Mare, how difficult it is for the country's legislative forum to consider all situations and interests, in order to promote reasonable, balanced, and just solutions. I understand the desire of the former owners quite well, but I equally understand the need of the tenants to be protected. But, above everything else, I realize that it is impossible to mend past inequities by committing new ones.

I had the satisfaction to note that such a viewpoint is also included in an answer given by the Council of Europe to the Association of Former Nationalized Owners on 14 January 1994. That letter read among other things, quote: The duration of the previous period has led to the appearance of de facto situations, including in the sphere of house tenancy, which cannot be completely ignored in certain cases, without the risk of committing new injustice, unquote. In conclusion, the letter reads: We hope that Romania's Parliament will speedily find a solution to the housing problems, which should equitably take into consideration all relevant interests and the provisions of the Human Rights Convention.

On the basis of my constitutional prerogatives, I asked that the courts observe the law in their activity. As a matter of fact, it is very curious that the magistrates who passed the decisions on returning certain buildings—some of which were implemented through the evacuation of the tenants from their homes, thus violating the basic provisions of Law No. 17/1994—failed to take note of the existing legal texts and the relevant decisions of the Constitutional Court.

Thus, Article 77 of Law No. 58/1991 imperatively stipulates that reparations for the assets abusively taken over by the state will be regulated by a special law. Article 26, Paragraph 3 of Law No. 47/1992 stipulates: Reparations for the damage suffered before the implementation of the 1991 Constitution will be regulated by law. By ignoring these legal provisions and the interpretation given by the Constitutional Court in its decisions No. 3/2 February 1993 and No. 27/25 May 1993, certain courts have exceeded their power by passing the legislative power onto another power, thus violating the principle of the separation of the powers in the state. This clearly shows that my position is perfectly legitimate and legal. It is most important that the authority of the justice system should not be prejudiced or harmed by procedures devoid of legal justification, which might disseminate among the population a sentiment of distrust in this cardinal institution of a state based on the rule of the law.

I would like to add that I have never involved myself in any case being tried in a legal court in order to exert pressure on a panel of judges. Understanding that the basic meaning of the state based on the rule of law is the very rule of the law, political pluralism, the separation of the powers in the states, the observance of the basic human rights, and the promotion of the democratic values, I have exercised my mandate as Romania's president within the strict limits of constitutional prerogatives, as I have pledged before you in my investiture speech during my taking the oath as president.

I consider the target of consolidating the state based on the rule of the law presupposes both the implementation of the principle of the separation of the powers in the state, the consolidation of the prestige of its main institutions, and insuring their functioning in accordance with the law, in the spirit of public interest.

We must ponder together whether we encourage and support these democratic priorities through some of our actions or whether we are prolonging political passions beyond admissible limits, thus undermining the foundation of the statal edifice we are trying to build and which expresses our attachment to democracy and the Romanian people's ideals.

I believe I was sufficiently explicit in my arguments, so as to refute the accusations brought against me. I again assure Parliament and the Romanian people that I will continue to act in all circumstances as guarantor of the constitutional order, in accordance with the prerogatives of the country's president, as established by the Constitution and the other laws. Thank you.

[Signed] Ion Iliescu

Parliament To Discuss Impeachment on 7 Jul

AU0407195294 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 4 Jul 94

[Text] The proposal to begin the procedure of suspending Romanian President Ion Iliescu from office was presented to the plenary meeting of the two chambers of Parliament, which was convened in a joint extraordinary session this afternoon.

The document was read by Ioan Muresan, deputy for the PNTCD [National Peasant Christian-Democratic Party]. Chamber of Deputies President Adrian Nastase read the response of President Ion Iliescu in connection with the accusations against him, which are included in the document signed by 167 parliamentarians that proposes the suspension of the president from office.

The two chambers have decided that on 6 July, at 2000 at the latest, the Constitutional Court will present its

conclusions on the act of starting the procedure of suspending the president of Romania from office, while discussions on this issue will be held on 7 July at 1000.

According to the report of our parliamentary correspondent Ioan David, the two chambers of Parliament also cast their votes on the names of candidates for the completion of the Supreme Council of Magistracy. The following people were elected: Costache Ivanov, Marin Popa, Maria Rosu, Cornel Iacob, Constantin Furtuna, and Dalia Despina Mihai.

One magistrate was appointed for 17 July, another seven for 30 July, and another two members will be appointed for a future date.

Tomorrow morning the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate will hold separate plenary meetings to discuss issues included on the agenda of each chamber.

PNTCD 'Not Surprised' by Votes on Censure

AU0407201394 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1900 GMT 4 Jul 94

[Text] The National Peasant Christian-Democratic Party [PNTCD] was not surprised by the number of votes in Parliament regarding the censure motion initiated by the opposition, stated Senator Radu Vasile, spokesman of this political formation, during the party's weekly news conference.

The result of the opposition's initiative, said Vasile, is not a failure because Parliament's debates demonstrated that the Social Democratic Party of Romania is in a defensive position. In support of this affirmation, Senator Radu Vasile recalled the poor quality of arguments of the government in response to the accusations included in the motion, the violent attack against the Democratic Agrarian Party of Romania, and the Socialist Party of Labor, and, last but not the least, the fact that the government admitted that there are certain cases of corruption and that it has started an offensive against them.

The PNTCD spokesman announced that a attack is being prepared at Cotroceni and will be directed against all types of people in the Romanian political spectrum.

Ion Diaconescu, PNTCD first deputy president, emphasized that the procedure of suspending the country's president from office is based on realities and not speculations. Nevertheless, the PNTCD does not have any illusions that the vote of Parliament on the aforementioned issue will be favorable for the opposition; however, Mr. Ion Diaconescu said, through this act, the opposition hopes to prove that the president is not above the law.

According to our correspondent's report, Diaconescu rejected the accusations of President Ion Iliescu to the effect that the PNTCD will reestablish a monarchy. No one in our party even thinks about imposing the monarchist solution without the accord of the Romanian people, said the PNTCD first deputy president.

PSM Abstained From Voting on Censure Motion

AU0407201794 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1900 GMT 4 Jul 94

[Text] The weekly news conference of the PSM [Socialist Party of Labor] focused on the attitude of this party toward the opposition's act of submitting the censure motion and the claim to have President Iliescu suspended from office.

PSM Vice President Ion Sasu stressed that the position of this party is consistent—that is, the support granted to the ruling party is a selective support in accordance with the program of socialist ideas and principles of this party. The PSM parliamentary group voted by abstention, which means it recognized certain efforts of the Vacaroiu government to stabilize the socioeconomic situation of the country but draw attention to the fact that, in the social and economic arena, there are still certain aspects toward which the PSM cannot adopt an indifferent attitude.

Referring to the opposition's claim of having the president suspended from office, the leaders of this political formation affirmed that the Socialist Party of Labor will vote against the demand to have Ion Iliescu suspended from office.

Tinca Details Position on Chemical Weapons

AU0207174394 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1900 GMT 30 Jun 94

[Statement by Minister of National Defense Gheorghe Tinca at a news conference on 30 June in Bucharest—recorded]

[Text] It is known that Romania has expressed its wish to become a member of the Australia Group. That group reunites a group of states with a significant chemical, scientific, and industrial potential that have set themselves the goal of lifting, or rather eliminating the possibility of the proliferation of chemical weapons. This group has elaborated a list comprising 40 preliminary substances, of which Romania is currently producing seven. Romania has handed in an application requesting to be admitted to that group.

Related to the examination of Romania's application there has been some hesitation, caused by the existence of certain preoccupations, on behalf of Romania, in the domain of chemical weapons. Romania has declared and declares that it does not have chemical weapons and that it does not have programs intended to develop such weapons.

Despite all this, suspicion—which was also fostered by the general nature of our previous declarations; as well as by the incomplete data we have supplied so far—

continues to exist. In view of eliminating all uncertainty and to prove Romania's goodwill, it was decided that comprehensive data should be published regarding Romania's programs in the domain of chemical weapons.

I would like to draw your attention to the fact that it is for the first time ever that the Romanian Government is acting in such a way, as it wishes to eliminate all doubts regarding its credibility as a sincere partner in cooperation. In the year 1987, it was established that Romania should renounce entering the phase of designing and building equipment producing toxic substances, owing to the very high cost this would have meant and the budgetary problems of the armed forces. Early in 1990, the program was halted entirely.

Currently, such activity is carried out exclusively at the laboratory level and solely at the Center for Scientific Chemistry Research of the Ministry of National Defense. That activity is directed at obtaining the following substances, and let me add parenthetically brackets that these substances are produced in laboratory glassware: Sarin— 100 grams obtained per year; Soman—100 grams per year; DX—100 grams per year; Yperite-plus—between 80 and 100 grams per year.

All those substances are being obtained solely with the intent of testing the detection and protection equipment manufactured in Romania, as allowed by the Convention on the Banning of Chemical Weapons, to which Romania is a signatory.

The document titled Integrated Conception Regarding Romania's National Security, which has been elaborated by the country's Supreme Defense Council and submitted for sanctioning by parliament, says, quote, the Romanian state does not hold, does not produce, will not produce, and will not purchase in any way chemical weapons, or nuclear weapons, or bacteriological weapons, and cooperates on the international plane for the nonproliferation of such mass-destruction weapons and of the means of their transportation to targets, unquote.

The Military Doctrine on Romania's Defense, a document that has also been submitted for sanctioning by parliament, says, quote, the military actions for the country's defense are to take place solely for the defense of the national territory. The Romanian Armed Forces will never pursue the conquering, occupation, or annexation of territories, unquote. This principle confirms that even in the case of enemies penetrating our national territory, the Romanian Armed Forces will not resort to the use of weapons of mass-destruction, as those weapons are as lethal for our own population as for the enemy.

Accident at Heavy Water Factory Examined

AU0207173294 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 28 Jun 94 p 9

[A.M.PRESS report: "Dr. Delia Potopea, Who Gave First Aid, Is Also in Coma"]

[Text] During the tragic accident at the heavy water producing factory in Halanga, Mehedinti County, Delia Potopea, a 41-year-old physician, who was the first to give first aid to the gassed people, also fell into a coma. According to first estimates, the accident did not occur because of the national electric power failure but because the factory's own generators were switched on too late and the pressure of the hydrogen sulphide inside the installation rose above the acceptable limits. Some rumors—difficult to contradict—are circulating in town [Drobeta Turnu Severin] to the effect that part of the blame rests also with those who should have supervised the electrical and production processes, but they left to watch a soccer game. Likewise, another cause for the accident might be the lack of gas intercepting installation and gas burner [as published], which were included in the initial production projects. Therefore, the factory is essentially working illegally. Had the accident taken place during normal working hours, the number of victims would have been at least 160 people. The television reported on the accident only 24 hours after it had occurred, and the residents of Drobeta Turnu Severin Municipality have not been alerted to the danger.

Izetbegovic Attends Opening of U.S. Embassy

AU0407162994 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 4 Jul 94

[Report by Zoran Pirolic]

[Excerpts] [Begin recording] [Pirolic] At the solemn ceremony of the opening of the U.S. Embassy in Sarajevo [words indistinct] on 4 July, U.S. Independence Day, [words indistinct] first read a message by [words indistinct]. [passage omitted]

[Pirolic] Victor Jackovich, the first U.S. ambassador to Sarajevo, in addressing the [word indistinct] and the Bosnia- Herzegovina state officials, the diplomatic corps in Sarajevo, [words indistinct] in the capital, did not hide his emotions:

[Jakovich, in English with superimposed translation into Serbo- Croatian] (?In this extremely disturbed time) for the United States, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and [words indistinct] the people of Bosnia [words indistinct] (?the overwhelming experience of fighting).

We are determined to continue to help you. [passage indistinct] The model of Sarajevo and Bosnia as a multiethnic society is not a thing of the past but has proven to be a staying power. It is the way to the future. The United States pledges its support for an undivided Sarajevo, a strong and vibrant federation, and a free and democratic Bosnia-Herzegovina within its internationally recognized borders. Thank you!

[Pirolic] Bosnia-Herzegovina President Alija Izetbegovic, speaking at the opening of the U.S. Embassy in Sarajevo, emphasized the enormous significance of U.S. support in the struggle of Bosnia- Herzegovina and the Bosniak people for freedom and [word indistinct]:

[Izetbegovic] Allow me to join in the congratulations [words indistinct] for several months. This is truly a great day for Bosnia-Herzegovina and its peoples. With the opening of the highest diplomatic mission today [words indistinct] the leading international superpowers [word indistinct] yet another proof that [words indistinct] which are the ideals of freedom and democracy. We see more than a mere symbolism in the fact that this is taking place precisely on the U.S. national holiday. This is a clear message of encouragement and, for those on the other side of the barricade, a [word indistinct] that fascism does not stand a chance and will pass. This has been confirmed by [word indistinct] words by Secretary of State Warren Christopher that, in Bosnia-Herzegovina, there is no place for nationalist intolerance and [words indistinct]. Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness are the unalienable rights of any man. These words that sound attractive and smart still today were written by the founders of the United States in the famous Declaration of Independence 218 years ago. The defenders of Bosnia [words indistinct] message [words indistinct] struggle.

[Pirolic] At the end of today's ceremony, the U.S. anthem was played [words indistinct] the star-spangled flag of the United States was raised. [end recording]

Izetbegovic Departs for Geneva To Sign Accord

AU0407185794 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 4 Jul 94

[Text] Prior to this newscast, we received a report that President Alija Izetbegovic has departed for Geneva (?to sign the agreement on Mostar). As is known, the European Union over the next two years will take over the administering of this town, on which an agreement has been reached. Mostar Mayor Safet Orucevic is accompanying President Izetbegovic.

Karadzic: Division Maps 'Humiliating'

LD0107112394 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1020 GMT 1 Jul 94

[Text] Sarajevo, 1 Jul (TANJUG)—The maps proposed by the contact group were made with the intention of having them rejected by the Serbs in order to prolong the war, and then blame the Serbs for it, Bosnian Serb Republic President Radovan Karadzic has said.

In an interview broadcast early this morning by news agency SRNA [Bosnian Serb News Agency] Karadzic said that the maps were humiliating because they broke the territorial continuity of the Serb territories and made the survival of the Serbs in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina absolutely impossible.

He said that members of the contact group were playing with fire and that they had given themselves a right that did not belong to them—to make maps without the Serbs and to their detriment—in an attempt to impose humiliating conditions for the continuation of the war on the winning side.

Despite this the Serb side will study the maps and decide whether they provide good grounds for the continuation of the peace process or are more of an ultimatum, the Serb Republic president said.

We believe that no one from Serbia will force us to accept something unacceptable, which breaks our territorial continuity and prevents our final unification, Karadzic said.

The contact group is made of representatives of the United States, Russia, Great Britain, France, and Germany.

Abdic Reportedly Seeking Reconciliation

AU0107190594 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 1 Jul 94

[Report by Nada Al-Isa from Zagreb]

[Text] There has been a great deal of rumor in the political circles in Zagreb that Abdic has already sent

numerous messages to Sarajevo via Zagreb, seeking appeasement. It seems that waters are rising around him in the form of the 5th Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army.

We have learned for sure that Abdic's dream is to again become a member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency and take part in the international negotiations. However, Abdic has already had all this. [Word indistinct] a member of the Presidency [words indistinct]. [Words indistinct] Fikret Abdic arrived as a member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency. It was the three sides that negotiated on that occasion—the Bosnian, the Croatian, and the Serbian. Abdic [words indistinct] (?last August) in Geneva betrayed Bosnia as a member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency. Namely, the Presidency was doing everything to save Bosnia. The Croats and the Serbs at that time already drew [words indistinct] divisions. Abdic [words indistinct] the Croatian-Serbian plan of division. So if now, as he says, he really wants appeasement with Sarajevo, the first thing, and the least, that he should do is to publicly recognize the integrity of the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina and stop destroying it with his para-military. We have learned that he was advised this very clearly in Zagreb sometime recently, too.

The fact that Abdic is seeking reconciliation is the best proof that his boat in Kladusa is sinking. No wonder that there have been widespread rumors that the 5th Corps and Brigadier [words indistinct] are his nightmare. It is anticipated, even in Zagreb, that there will soon be no need for him to dream about them anymore as he will see them in the flesh in the middle of Kladusa.

Abdic Says Izetbegovic To Blame for War

LD0207095194 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0812 GMT 2 Jul 94

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 2 Jul (TANJUG)—Fikret Abdic, the president of the presidency of the autonomous province of western Bosnia [APWB], told POLITIKA EKSPRES today that peace in the territory of former Bosnia-Herzegovina depended on Alija Izetbegovic, who was to blame for the war.

Anyway, he [Izetbegovic] can wage war while he is getting green dollars from Arab countries and wasting time in international hotels pretending to seek peace. There is no end to the war as long as money is being offered to the dogs of war. They will never work, and as long as dollars are pouring in Alija will wage war. Our ambitions are exactly the opposite, Abdic pointed out.

According to him, Izetbegovic's forces are still attacking APWB units. They want to destroy our autonomy. I am an optimist and I hope I will survive this second assault too, he added. [passage omitted]

Stressing that Serbs have no interests in the area, Abdic said that Izetbegovic cannot understand that we have had no clashes with the Serbs and that we will not have them in the future.

This is in reality just a power struggle. Izetbegovic wants to have unlimited rule, Abdic said.

UNHCR: Croats Evicting Muslims From Mostar

AU0407102694 Paris AFP in English 1012 GMT 4 Jul 94

[Text] Sarajevo, July 4 (AFP)—Moslems are still being evicted from Croat-controlled western part of Mostar, the spokesman for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), Kris Janowski said here Monday [4 July].

He said 80 people had arrived in the Moslem-controlled eastern sector of the Bosnian city in the past two weeks. Some of them had been evicted, some had fled because of fear of harassment.

Janowski cited the case of an elderly Moslem woman who had had her hip broken, gold teeth ripped out and clumps of hair torn out by three Croat HVO [Croatian Defense Council] militiamen last week.

He said that although the authorities were "quite cooperative" the usual line the police was taking was that they could not control certain elements within the HVO.

Croats Protest 'Forced Mobilization' by Muslims

LD0407173794 Mostar Croatian Radio Herzeg-Bosna in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 4 Jul 94

[Text] A delegation of the Croatian Democratic Union [HDZ] of Bosnia-Herzegovina has visited Tuzla, or the Croat Community of Soli, where it attended a HDZ session.

During its visit to Tuzla the delegation was informed about the main problems facing the Croats in the region. This is what Zoran Tomic, a member of the HDZ delegation, told our reporter Milos Sutalo on their return to Mostar:

[Begin recording] [Tomic] I can think of five main problems there. First, the question of recruitment. This is the most essential question and the problem which troubles our Croats there most and contributes to their leaving the area.

The other question is the question of reestablishing the 115th Zrinski Brigade, so that the Croats are mobilized into a Croat Defense Council [HVO] brigade. Then, Zenica is still under a strong information blockade, where a Chinese wall that the Muslim media have built still prevents information reaching our Croats. We discussed this—how to improve the situation, so that the voice of the Croats may be heard, and what we can do on our part to present the information in the Croat media.

[Reporter] As regards the forced mobilization in Tuzla, of which we have heard recently—have you discussed this problem with the Muslim authorities and have you demanded that this be stopped?

[Tomic] This is not just a piece of alarming information carried by the media. Indeed I must say that the Muslims are mobilizing large numbers of Croat intellectuals, those holding prominent functions in Croat institutions. The president of the HDZ municipal committee in Lukavac told us that a Croat had been detained for a month the day before our talks there because he refused to be mobilized into the Bosnia-Herzegovina army.

There is also something new happening, something we cannot accept—these are crude attempts by the Bosnia-Herzegovina army to mobilize Croat girls. We know that this sort of thing has never been done—Croat girls and women cannot be mobilized, they can only volunteer for the army. We sharply protested against this.

We held talks with their leadership in the Tuzla region. They admitted there were more problems in Tuzla than in some other parts and that everything possible should be done to resolve them. But my personal impression is that many things are being dictated from some higher level, probably from Sarajevo, and that they are only the instruments, the people who implement orders. At a meeting chaired by Mr. Bender, we agreed that these issues should be resolved at the highest level, the level of the government of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, which has recently been elected and begun its work. [end recording]

Muslims Exchange Heavy Artillery Fire

LD0307201994 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1959 GMT 3 Jul 94

[Text] Belgrade, July 3 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Moslems exchanged heavy artillery and rocket fire in the territory of the autonomous province of western Bosnia (APZB) on Saturday. Civilian casualties were reported as well as major damage to local facilities.

Forces of moderate local Moslem leader Fikret Abdic and units of his rival Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic used rockets, howitzers and multiple rocket launchers in the fighting, Sarajevo Radio (controlled by Izetbegovic's forces) and Velkaton Radio (loyal to Abdic) reported.

The sources reported a large number of civilian casualties, including children.

Sources in the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) confirmed the reports, adding that over 600 explosions had been registered in the APZB territory.

Izetbegovic's forces again regrouped troops around Doboj, which indicates fresh attacks on Bosnian Serb defence lines, the First Corps of the Bosnian Serb army said.

In the region of Mount Ozren in northern Bosnia, Moslems continued to launch artillery attacks on Serb communities and civilian facilities in an evident violation of the agreed ceasefire.

Moslems opened fire from artillery weapons, anti-aircraft guns and small arms on Serb positions around Teslic, said the Serb sources.

Regrouping of Moslem forces was also observed in the region and the Moslem forces are expected to attempt a new offensive on Serb positions in that part of northern Bosnia in the coming days.

TANJUG: Muslim, Croat Violations Continue

LD0407133994 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1313 GMT 4 Jul 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Zvornik, July 4 (TANJUG)—Muslim and Croat troops are continuing to violate the one-month Bosnian cease-fire that began June 10, Bosnian Serb military sources said Monday.

The sources reported that Bosnian Croat and regular Croatian army troops targeted mortar, infantry and anti-aircraft fire on the town of Orasje on the Sava river in northern Bosnia.

Muslim troops also made sporadic attacks in northern Bosnia on the towns of Brcko, Doboj, and Teslic, as well as on Mt. Ozren, Mt. Trebovac and the Majevica mountain range.

Muslim attacks were reported along most Serb defensive lines in the regions of the central Bosnian towns of Srbobran, Komari, Vlasic and Olovo, as well as around Bihac in western Bosnia.

The Bosnian Serbs said Muslims from the east Bosnian enclave of Gorazde continue using the U.N. safe area as a base to launch attacks on Serb settlements on the right bank of the Drina river.

On the Sarajevo front, Muslims are attacking the Serb settlements of Ilijas and Ilidza.

The Muslims in Sarajevo are continuing to build trenches and other lines to move forward on the Serb city areas of Mojmilo, Grbavica, Vrace and Zlatiste, the Bosnian Serb sources said.

Inter-Muslim Clashes Reported in Western Bosnia

LD0207133394 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 2 Jul 94

[Excerpts] Petrovac, 2 Jul (TANJUG)—Velkaton Radio from Velika Kladusa [capital of self-proclaimed autonomous province of western Bosnia (APWB)] has reported fierce inter-Muslim infantry clashes last night and this morning.

Soldiers of the Muslim Army's Fifth Corps, loyal to Alija Izetbegovic, have also launched mortar attacks with various time intervals. Velkaton radio has not reported any casualties. According to the same source, regrouping of military equipment belonging to the Fifth Corps has been registered in the Trzac, Todorovo, and Caglice areas, indicating a fresh offensive by Izetbegovic's forces against positions held by the APWB army. [passage omitted]

United radio stations in the Bihac region, controlled by Izetbegovic, reported today that soldiers of the Fifth Corps were advancing and repelling "fierce attacks" by the APWB forces.

HVO, Army Hold Talks on Normalizing Relations

AU0407171394 Zagreb HINA in English 1502 GMT 4 Jul 94

[Unattributed report: "HVO and Bosnian Army Hold Talks on Normalization of Relations"]

[Text] Sarajevo, 4 Jul—A delegation of the Croatian Defense Council's (HVO) headquarters, led by General Milivoj Petkovic, arrived in Sarajevo on Monday [4 July] to conduct two-day negotiations with representatives of the Bosnian Army's headquarters. General Petkovic told Croatian News Agency (HINA) today that the negotiations concentrated on normalization of relations between the Bosnian Army and the HVO.

At today's talks the two sides agreed in principle that the former confrontation lines between the Bosnian Army and the HVO should be dissolved, and the formations of the two military forces should ensure stability in the depth of territory. The two delegations also agreed that mixed checkpoints should be established at the former disengagement lines because of effective control, and at the same time the number of troops on the previous battlefields should decrease considerably. Both delegations think that the reinforced control is still necessary in the former crisis areas, since there are some groups who threaten the security of the areas by their irresponsible and arbitrary behavior.

According to General Petkovic, the gradual disengagement of forces should commence from 15 July first in the Zepce area (some 120 km north of Sarajevo) further to the south of Bosnia- Herzegovina. A mixed military commission is due to consider in detail the operation of disengagement at a special session in Gornji Vakuf in two days.

A today's session in Sarajevo the two delegations discussed the problem of Croats' mobilization to the Bosnian Army by force in the area of Tuzla (northeastern Bosnia). The HVO representatives proposed that the Croats in the Tuzla area should be conscripted to the HVO 108th and 115 brigades deployed in the crisis area since the outbreak of the war in Bosnia.

UN Reports Heavy Artillery Exchanges in Ozren

AU0507093394 Paris AFP in English 0814 GMT 5 Jul 94

[Text] Sarajevo, July 5 (AFP)—Heavy artillery exchanges opposed Bosnian Serbs and Moslems in the north of the country overnight, the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) said Tuesday.

Most of the fighting was centred along the eastern front of the Ozren mountain range, where Moslem offensives and Serb counter-offensives have been taking place for the past 10 days, according to UNPROFOR spokesman Commander Eric Chaperon.

UNPROFOR observation posts counted 191 explosions overnight in the Gracanica region and 180 in the Ribnica area, further to the south.

The artillery exchanges, which did not appear to have been accompanied by infantry movement, flared after a relatively quiet day Monday.

On the western Ozren front—on the other side of the Serb-held mountain range through which the Moslems would like to seize control of a strategic road to better link up positions in northern and central Bosnia—the night was generally calm with only 16 explosions reported.

Meanwhile, in the eastern Moslem-held Gorazde enclave "tension is obviously rising," Chaperon said.

On Monday there were a number of fire-fights between Moslem and Serb fighters and UN troops repeatedly came under fire in the UN- declared safe haven.

One British-manned observation post was targeted by over 200 rounds of Serb gunfire and a grenade attack overnight Sunday and again came under fire Monday afternoon. British soldiers, none of whom were hurt, returned fire during the first incident and have since reinforced their position.

In another incident, a UN patrol was also fired on in the enclave Monday.

In Sarajevo, one man wearing civilian clothes was shot and wounded in the shoulder by a sniper Monday.

UN Reports Serbian Support for Abdic Forces

AU0107150394 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 1 Jul 94

[Text] The UN representatives have stated that the rebel Serbs in Croatia have pulled tanks and heavy artillery out of the warehouses and [words indistinct] to the Bihac region, [words indistinct]

The UN observers have also stated that the Serbian aggressor is providing artillery support to the secessionist forces of Fikret Abdic. Assessing that the presence of heavy arms represents a higher degree of assistance, the

UN officials have sharply condemned the transfer of heavy arms from the occupied parts of Croatia.

Army Troops Claim To Inflict 'Huge Losses'

LD0307140594 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 3 Jul 94

[Excerpt] There is no peace on the battlefields in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Serb-Montenegrin aggressors have stepped up their activities. The situation was the most difficult in the operational area of the Third Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. Following a strong enemy attack on the Zavidovici-Vozuca battlefront, Bosnia-Herzegovina Army's soldiers repelled the Chetniks and inflicted huge losses in manpower and equipment upon them.

Judging by frequent movement of vehicles, fresh aggressor's forces have arrived to help their brothers as reinforcements for further attacks on the free Zavidovici territories. [passage omitted]

Serbian Positions Near Bihac Under Attack

LD0407130094 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1216 GMT 4 Jul 94

[Excerpt] Drvar, 4 Jul (TANJUG)—Members of the Muslim Army's Fifth Corps have resumed attacks against Serbian defensive lines on the Grmusa-Srbljani plateau, 10 kms east of Bihac, the information service of the Bosnian Serb Republic Army's Second Corps said today. The fiercest attacks have been directed toward Pritocki Grabez, Alibegovica Kosa, and Spahica Glavica. Serb Republic Army units did not respond to the attacks, even though two Serbian soldiers were wounded. [passage omitted]

Serbs Report Muslims Heavily Defeated in Doboj

LD0407183694 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1750 GMT 4 Jul 94

[Excerpts] Doboj, 4 Jul (TANJUG)—Despite their daily defeats and casualties, Muslim units have continued offensive operations against the Serb defense lines and residential areas on all front lines in the wider area of Doboj, the information service of the Bosnian Serb Republic Army's First Krajina Corps said in a statement this evening.

The Muslims were particularly aggressive on the Ozren-Vozuca front, where their numerically strong forces today launched an infantry attack—with strong artillery support—from the direction of Banovici, aimed at breaking through the Serb defense lines in the Klupe area, in the eastern part of Vozuca, and linking up with their forces from the direction of Zavidovici. [passage omitted]

The Muslim attack was repulsed by the firm defense of the defenders of Vozuca and the southern Ozren area. The enemy forces withdrew in panic deep into their territory, taking some 10 bodies and scores of seriously wounded with them. [passage omitted]

UNPROFOR: Canadian Soldier Wounded

AU0407084494 Paris AFP in English 0825 GMT 4 Jul 94

[Text] Sarajevo, July 4 (AFP)—A Canadian soldier was slightly hurt in early Monday [4 July] when his patrol came under Moslem sniper fire in the Visoko region of central Bosnia, a UN military spokesman said.

The incident occurred around 4 a.m. [0200 GMT] as a Canadian liaison officer and soldiers from his escort were making their way to Moslem Bosnian headquarters at Visoko to complain about Moslem sniper fire directed at a Canadian observation post a couple of hours earlier, said UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] spokesman Commander Eric Chaperon. The soldier received slight face injuries. The observation post had already come under sniper fire Sunday morning.

Meanwhile, artillery duels between Moslems and Serbs continued late Sunday and overnight Sunday to Monday along the eastern side of the Ozren mountain range, an area of northern Bosnia where Serbs have just repelled a Moslem offensive. A total of 123 explosions were reported in the area of Gracanica, Chaperon said.

Further north in the Doboj area, there was an increase in the number of artillery exchanges during the course of Sunday, and a total of 102 explosions were reported in the Posavina corridor region which links western Bosnian Serb-held territory with Serbia proper.

Attacks on UNPROFOR on Increase

AU0207132894 Paris AFP in English 1111 GMT 2 Jul 94

[Text] Sarajevo, July 2 (AFP)—Attacks against UN forces in Bosnia this week reached their highest level in four months, a UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) spokesman said here Saturday. There were seven reported attacks on Friday [1 July], none of them resulting in any UN casualties, bringing the total to 39 for this week, said French Naval Commander (eds: correct) Eric Chaperon. UN forces did not return fire. A much-flouted ceasefire, which was to have lasted one month, has technically been in effect since June 10.

In the Sarajevo sector, a British liaison officer was shot at and a British army vehicle also came under fire when it wandered into a fire-fight on Mount Igman.

In Zepce, a Moslem-controlled area to the south of the Ozren mountains where much of the recent Moslem-Serb fighting has been taking place, a British camp was targeted by several rounds of small arms.

In Gorazde, in the eastern Moslem-held enclave, an observation post where a British soldier was killed last week, twice came under fire during the day. And in

Visoko, central Bosnia, a Canadian observation post twice came under sniper fire from a suspected Moslem fighter.

Meanwhile, Friday night was reported to have been mostly calm, except for the northern corridor of Brcko, where UN monitors counted 110 heavy weapon detonations in a sector east of Gradacac.

It was not known who was doing the firing, but Moslem Bosnian forces have been increasing pressure on the Serb-held corridor which links their western and eastern territories in Bosnia. In Sarajevo, a Bosnian was wounded in the chest by a sniper Friday afternoon.

Fighting between Moslem-led and Serb forces also continued in the Ozren mountain area with successful counter-attacks by the Serbs, and there were renewed clashes north of Bugojno, in central Bosnia.

In the western Bihac pocket, where Moslem government forces are battling Moslem autonomists at a time when both groups are surrounded by Serb separatists, there was heavy mortaring of the Plecigrad area and reports of numerous government casualties arriving at one local hospital.

UNPROFOR Accused of Causing Divisions

LD0307174794 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 3 Jul 94

[Text] The Main Headquarters of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army has accused the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] in Bosnia-Herzegovina in an unusually sharp manner of blaming the Bosnian Army for numerous cease-fire violations and of wanting to cause divisions between the country's military and political leadership.

The Bosnian military leadership also reiterates that the Serbs want to freeze the situation on the ground by establishing a truce and that the war in Bosnia cannot end until conditions for a just peace have been established. A just peace cannot exist if the results of aggression are recognized, the statement by the Main Headquarters of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army says.

Ganic Accuses Clinton, Gore for Embargo Ruling

LD0107222194 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2211 GMT 1 Jul 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, July 1 (TANJUG)—Vice-President of the Moslem-Croat Federation in Bosnia Ejup Ganic on Friday accused U.S. President Bill Clinton and Vice-President Al Gore of being to blame for the Senate not ruling to exempt Bosnian Moslems from an arms ban.

Vice-President Gore's vote was crucial in defeating the motion, the Bosnian Serb News Agency SRNA quotes Ganic as saying on Moslem television in Sarajevo.

Ganic has spent the past two weeks lobbying U.S. congressmen to vote to exempt the Bosnian Moslems from the arms ban which has been in place against all of former Yugoslavia since the autumn of 1991, a step which the Clinton administration is reluctant to take.

On Wednesday, he had talks with Gore who, the U.S. media report, conveyed to him the administration's displeasure at what it saw as Ganic's trouble-making in Congress and making life difficult for the White House.

Ljubijankic Greets U.S. Ambassador on 4 Jul

AU0407151794 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 4 Jul 94

[Text] On the occasion of 4 July, U.S. Independence Day, I would like to extend to your excellency in the name of the Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina [words indistinct] congratulations and best wishes for the prosperity of the friendly nation of the United States and for your personal wellbeing is written in a message that Bosnia-Herzegovina Foreign Minister Irfan Ljubijankic sent to Victor Jackovich, U.S. ambassador to our country, on the U.S. national holiday.

[Word indistinct] the spirit of the Declaration of Independence inspires not merely Americans but all freedom-loving people of the world. The people of Bosnia-Herzegovina in their struggle for the freedom, sovereignty, and integrity of their country cherish and embrace the noble ideas of the Declaration of Independence.

Croatian Party Prepares for General Assembly

LD0407174294 Mostar Croatian Radio Herzeg-Bosna in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 4 Jul 94

[Text] Coming up is our correspondent's report on today's session of the presidency and the executive board of the Croatian Democratic Union [Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica—HDZ].

[Correspondent Ivica Tomic] Today, the HDZ presidency and the executive board of Bosnia-Herzegovina are holding a session in Mostar. Their agenda includes a report on preparations for the third general HDZ assembly scheduled to take place on 9, 10 July in Mostar. At the beginning of today's session, Bozo Rajic and Srecko Vucina delivered their introductory addresses on behalf of the committee for preparing the assembly's documents. The session is closed to the public.

The Bosnia-Herzegovina HDZ presidency and the executive board are today discussing a draft statute and a draft code of practice and political declarations as part of the report on preparations for the assembly. This draft document says, among other things, that the HDZ of Bosnia-Herzegovina is a people's party rallying all strata of the Croat people and other citizens. Its program is based on the principles of Christian democracy. It is an interesting fact the draft political declaration states that the HDZ of Bosnia- Herzegovina maintains a sisterly

relationship with the HDZ in its capacity as the global political organization of the Croatian people. Today's session will also decide who will open and announce the assembly agenda. Apart from adopting its statute and the declaration, the assembly is also expected to elect a new party chairman.

First Turkish Troops Arrive in Zenica

LD0207174194 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1710 GMT 2 Jul 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Bijeljina, Ilijas, July 2 (TANJUG)—The first contingent of 250 Turkish troops has arrived in the Moslem-held town of Zenica in central Bosnia-Herzegovina to join the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR).

This was reported by persons who have just fled the regions of Zenica and Tuzla, seeking shelter in the territory of the Bosnian Serb Republic.

The witnesses, including two officers of the Bosnian Moslem Army, said the Turkish troops had been installed at the UNPROFOR headquarters in Zenica.

Another contingent of 1,000 Turkish troops, expected to arrive soon, will be temporarily installed in the building of a local firm in Zenica, they said.

The witnesses said Khojas were informing locals about the positions Turkish troops are expected to take—various points along the disengagement line, including Mount Vlasic and Vozuca.

Having allowed Turkey to contribute its troops to UNPROFOR, the U.N. Security Council has violated the principle stipulating that neighbouring countries and former occupying forces cannot contribute. For more than five centuries, Turkey was an occupying force in troops to UNPROFOR. The Balkans, Bosnia-Herzegovina included. [passage as received]

A special Moslem unit with the code name "Black Swans" has been deployed in the region of Tuzla airport in north-eastern Bosnia, which should be exclusively under UNPROFOR control, the witnesses said.

UNPROFOR troops are trying to maintain control of the entire airport area, but, contrary to all previous agreements, Moslem units have arrived in the region with the same objective—to control the airport.

Bosnian Serbs have demanded that their representatives also be present at the airport to prevent arms smuggling for the Bosnian Moslems.

Refugees Protest Against UNPROFOR

UNPROFOR Blocked in Zadar, Biograd

LD0107142594 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 1 Jul 94

[Text] At 1400 [1200 GMT] sharp the population of Biograd blocked the Adriatic highway at the Biograd ring road for all UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] vehicles. The reason for this protest is the fact that UNPROFOR, which controls the water source in Kakma, has not managed to secure a water supply for Biograd from that source even three months after the signing of the Zagreb agreement. [passage omitted]

Refugees from the area of Zadar also joined the population of Biograd in the blockade of the Adriatic highway, and as of 1200 today, all approaches to the Hotel Kolovari in Zadar, where Zadar UNPROFOR offices are situated, came under blockade. [passage omitted]

Seks on Refugees' Protests

LD0107193594 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 1 Jul 94

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Prompted by today's protests against UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] we invited Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Seks to be our studio guest. Jasenka Dudic is talking to him.

[Begin recording] [Dudic] Mr. Seks, as deputy prime minister and member of the Presidential Council of Defense and National Security—that yesterday again stressed Croatia's commitment to a peaceful reintegration which must not be endangered by rash moves—can you comment on the refugees' protests today? Are today's protests considered to be such rash moves?

[Seks] First of all, the decision to stage the protests is an independent decision by the Association of Refugees. It is their human right to protest in that way and thus express their indignation over the complete ineffectiveness on the part of UNPROFOR, which has done absolutely nothing and whose results are zero. In fact, UNPROFOR has become an economic and logistical support for the Serb occupation.

The refugees and their association have the right to react in the way they planned and thus warn the United Nations that their patience was overstretched a long time ago.

Parts of UNPROFOR are engaging not only in illegal actions, but they are engaging in a special form of mass smuggling to provide the rebel Serbs, the chetniks with all types of goods that are beyond humanitarian needs. For example, it has been established that Yasushi Akashi has allowed the import of 1,000 tonnes of fuel, which is in direct contravention of a UN resolution. Even an EU [European Union] observer has noted that the United Nations is violating its own resolutions.

Therefore, both the government of the Republic of Croatia and the Defense and National Security Council, which was in session yesterday, consider these protests as human and justified. [passage omitted: Seks says that the protests should not be abused to incite violence against UNPROFOR]

[Dudic] What do you think about the statements that the refugees are being used?

[Seks] No, the refugees are not being used. I will repeat: This is an independent decision by the Association of Refugees that was not influenced or encouraged by the Croatian Government. The refugees have been announcing and preparing it for a long time. The central Croatian authorities have not encouraged them and are not using them for their own ends, but they believe that it is their human right to do what they believe is necessary to draw the attention of the international public to their problems and suffering. [passage omitted: Seks criticizes Akashi's statement that Biograd will be provided water if both sides agree to it and UNPROFOR's failure to provide water supply]

[Dudic] We believe that it was a good move that the Croatian parliament has sent a resolution on the situation concerning the water supply [for Biograd] to parliaments throughout the world. I suppose parliamentarians have more understanding when addressed by people of the same profession. We have not heard reactions to that, but that discussion lead to the Assembly's conclusion to hold a discussion on UNPROFOR's mandate in July. What will the government do in preparation for that session?

[Seks] [passage omitted: Seks comments on the resolution] This decision by the Croatian parliament is a part of the Croatian diplomatic offensive targeting the United Nations and the world community, aimed at pointing out how untenable this UNPROFOR mandate is. This is meant to show that Croatia will cancel the UNPROFOR mandate, simply because its further presence with such a mandate, such actions, is in the service of the Serb conquest.

Before the mandate's expiry Croatia will strongly insist on having two UN resolutions implemented, the one that says that the UN forces should be deployed at the international borders of Croatia, and not at these demarcation lines that the Serbs consider as borders between Croatia and the artificial creation of Krajina. They should be deployed along the Croatian borders together with the Croatian Army, to prevent any links and support by the Serbian and Yugoslav regime to Knin.

This is one direction of the activities by the Croatian diplomacy and the whole of the state political body, which demands that UNPROFOR move to the Croatian borders. The other direction is to have Resolution 871 implemented, related to establishing economic and transport links within Croatia.

[Dudic] What will happen if Croatia's demands for the alteration of UNPROFOR's mandate are not accepted?

[Seks] Croatia will insist on UNPROFOR's departure and the cancellation of its mandate—not only if Croatia's demands for the alteration of the mandate are not accepted, but also if nothing tangible is accomplished by 30 September, when UNPROFOR's mandate in Croatia expires. Croatia has the right to this in accordance with the UN Charter, and as a UN member country on whose territory they are stationed. Therefore, Croatia will insist that UNPROFOR leave, so as not to share the fate of Cyprus—some 20 days ago UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali proposed an extension of the UN mandate in Cyprus by another six months, although 20 years had passed since the first UN mandate there.

However, we must be aware of a whole constellation of circumstances—first, UNPROFOR's departure and Croatia's decision that UNPROFOR should leave Croatian territory does not automatically mean war; this means that Croatia should ascertain when it will recover the occupied territories with all means at its disposal. At the same time, Croatian policies should in the upcoming period be geared toward creating preconditions for gaining the understanding of the most powerful nations in the world, the United Nations and the European Union, regarding both the cancellation of UNPROFOR's mandate—if it fails to achieve its objectives—and Croatia's moves ensuing after the cancellation of UNPROFOR's mandate. This means that Croatia would commence the liberation of its occupied territories in line with Article 51 of the UN Charter.

Nevertheless, according to the UN Charter, the UN Security Council can decide that the blue helmets should stay on the territory of a UN member state—even a nonmember—despite its opposition, if it concludes that their departure will seriously jeopardize peace and security in a certain part of the world. It would be hard to imagine such a situation—the blue helmets remaining on Croatian territory against its will—but this is both a practical and a theoretical possibility.

To sum it all up, we will call for the cancellation of this mandate if significant—and I mean really significant—progress is not made in the implementation of the most important UN Security Council resolutions. [end recording]

Refugees Send Letter to Akashi

LD0307182194 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 3 Jul 94

[Text] A letter sent today by the executive council of refugees from the territory of Split-Dalmatia county to UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali's special envoy Yasushi Akashi on behalf of 59,000 refugees accommodated in this area demands that the protection force come up with a program for the return of expelled persons by 15 July at the latest and secure the protection of the non-Serb population in areas controlled by the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR].

If all else fails, the letter says, the executive council of refugees from the territory of Split-Dalmatia county will organize a blockade of UNPROFOR's work on the entire territory of this county where most of UNPROFOR's logistical support comes from.

The letter further says that the refugees accommodated in this county are protesting against the non-observance of Vance's plan, and UNPROFOR's complicity in the ethnic cleansing of Croatia's occupied regions. The protest also says that UNPROFOR was responsible for the death of 600 non-Serbs in the UN-protected areas during its mandate in Croatia and for securing fuel and other commodities to the aggressor, the letter sent by the refugees to the special UN envoy says.

Protest in Sibenik Ends

AU0307151594 Zagreb HINA in English 0935 GMT 3 Jul 94

[Unattributed report: "Displaced Persons Finish Protest Rally in Pakovo Selo"]

[Text] Sibenik, July 3—Displaced persons, now accommodated in Sibenik County (Southern Croatia), started a protest rally against UN Protection Force's (UNPROFOR's) inefficacy at the check-point in Pakovo Selo in Saturday morning and finished it at 18:30 hours Saturday by letting UNPROFOR vehicles pass the check-point driving from Sibenik to Zitnic, reported the information centre of Sibenik on Sunday morning.

According to the chairman of the community of Sibenik County's displaced persons, Ante Jerkovic, yesterday's hindering of UNPROFOR's movements was a warning before a series of actions that are to be organized by the exiled people in this county until the expiration of UNPROFOR's mandate.

Protesters Block UN Vehicles

AU0407120694 Zagreb HINA in English 4 Jul 94

[Unattributed report: "Protesters Continue Blocking UNPROFOR Trucks in Sisak County"]

[Text] Sisak, Jul 4—Refugees from Banija (UNPA North) and residents of Sisak County on Monday [4 July] continued blocking UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] and UNHCR vehicles, protesting against UNPROFOR's inefficiency. Since the beginning of the blockade, the protesters have stopped a hundred jeeps, trucks and tank trucks. MP Martin Katicic and Prefect of Sisak County Duro Brodarac visited the protesters and expressed their support.

Official Discusses Council of Europe Admission

LD0407175694 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 4 Jul 94

[Passages within quotation marks recorded]

[Excerpt] Miguel Angel Martinez, president of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, arrived in Zagreb this afternoon. At the beginning of his two day visit to Croatia he met Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic. Andjelko Perincic reports:

[Perincic] In his address to journalists after the talks Martinez said:

[Martinez, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] "I tried to explain clearly what the purpose of my visit was. I told the minister that this was not a fact-finding mission. This is a visit aimed at exchanging views with your country's leaders. I clearly said that we in Strasbourg sincerely believed that Croatia would be admitted into the Council of Europe within a reasonable time. I intend to find factors in Croatia that would speed up your integration into the Council of Europe, and not only there but also into all European political structures."

[Perincic] Asked by your reporter to explain what a reasonable time meant, Martinez replied:

[Martinez] "I am not a futurologist, but a reasonable time means that Croatia should be admitted while I am holding the post of president, which I will be doing until the end of the next year. The sooner the better."

[Perincic] After this Foreign Minister Granic added:

[Granic] "We discussed Croatia's integration into the Council of Europe and the situation in the region. We are satisfied with Mr. Martinez's views. We believe we will fulfill all conditions and that within a reasonable time, which means probably within the first half of next year, we will become full members of the Council of Europe. This will mean a lot to us, for the Council of Europe is the first important step for getting integrated into all other European integration processes." [passage omitted]

Granic Interviewed on Planned Tripartite Talks

LD0207222394 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 2110 GMT 2 Jul 94

[Studio interview with Mate Granic, Croatian deputy prime minister and foreign minister by unidentified announcer—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Mr. Granic, good evening and welcome to our "Picture vs Picture" program. You returned from a one-day visit to Ankara, Turkey, today. It seems to me that your visit was important for several reasons, first because it is yet more proof that Turkey is very interested in improving its relations with Croatia, interested in improving relations between Muslims and Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and that it is interested in the full stablization of the situation in the region.

[Granic] Yes. Croatia has excellent relations with the Republic of Croatia, [as heard] and it has always been so, even in the difficult period of the fighting between the Bosniaks and Croats. At the moment, our relations are improving considerably. President Demirel is expected to visit Zagreb.

[Announcer] When will that happen?

[Granic] To be precise, he will visit Sarajevo on 15 July and Zagreb on 16 July. A tripartite meeting—between the entire leadership of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the federation, the Republic of Croatia, and Turkey—is expected to take place on the 17th.

[Announcer] A top level meeting?

[Granic] Yes, a top level meeting which has been firmly agreed.

[Announcer] So, if I got this right, on 17 July, President Tudjman, yourself and Prime Minister Valentic will meet on the island of Brijuni. Who will attend on the Bosnian side?

[Granic] President Izetbegovic, Federation President Zubak, Prime Minister Silajdzic, Vice President of the federation, Ganic, Ljubijankic, Mr. Prlic, who is deputy prime minister and defense minister, and probably the top military people as well.

[Announcer] And on the Turkish side?

[Granic] President Demirel and Foreign Minister Cetin, and a very strong delegation including the chief of general staff. [passage omitted: Granic says Demirel supports the division of Bosnia]

[Announcer] Certain reactions have already leaked out through Belgrade. The Bosnian Serbs have already said that they do not like the contact group's proposals, that it is humiliating because it breaks their territory into several pieces. Did you hear anything about that in Ankara?

[Granic] We heard about that statement by Karadzic. They are announcing that they will not accept the contact group's proposal. It is certain that the federation will not reject it quickly, that it will study it carefully and only then give its answer to the proposal. We will also study it carefully and give our opinion to the federation, of course, in our capacity as future partner in the confederation. [passage omitted: Granic says Turkey will side with the Croat-Muslim side if the Serbs reject the peace plan; Turkey will support Croatia during the UN General Assembly; a Turkish loan for Croatia was discussed in Ankara]

RSK President: Tudjman Seeking 'War Option'

LD0307144994 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1319 GMT 3 Jul 94

[Text] Kragujevac, 3 Jul (TANJUG)—Although the talks between the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] and Croatia have come to a temporary standstill we are still prepared to talk openly about any issue as we have been until now, RSK President Milan Martic has said.

In his statement for Kragujevac radio he said that the talks could have a positive result only when Croatia realizes that a dialogue on an equal footing is a reality and when the international community genuinely decides to halt the war in former Yugoslavia.

Unfortunately, added Martic, the present policy advocated by the relevant international factors, which in the most brutal way is punishing one entire nation while at the same time supporting war ambitions of another nation from former Yugoslavia, can only result in an even greater tragedy.

Drawing attention to a serious rift in the state and military leadership of Croatia, Martic said that Tudjman—in order to make everything right again—was seeking a solution in a war option and in a forced attempt to reintegrate the RSK into Croatia.

We do not want war and we have organized ourselves accordingly, but we are not going to experience another genocide. May I recall that just before the war broke out the Croatian authorities expelled from the Republic of Serb Krajina 400,000 Serbs, even those who had pledged to remain in Croatia. The Croatian MUP [Interior Ministry police] then executed 4,000 Serbs on the orders of the Croatian leadership and these Serbs were buried in 87 graves. We want peace, but we must be prepared for a war option and cannot afford to be overrun and experience another genocide, said Martic.

Report Views Reactions to Tudjman Speech

AU0207204094 Rijeka NOVI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 24 Jun 94 p 5

[Report by S. Modric, E. Vlahovic, and A. Erceg: "Most Istrian Italians Did Not Support Fascism"]

[Text] Dino Debeljuh (IDS [Istrian Democratic Congress]): "I did not attend the celebration because I had promised the fighters of Bujstina I would attend the placing of a wreath at the monument to anti-fascists killed in the war of national liberation, in Plovanija. Naturally, I watched President Tudjman's speech on the VCR later on. I was concerned about the president's speech, and I think most people who had the opportunity to hear it were too.

First of all, it is surprising that the army was in charge of the president's security, although civilian police usually takes care of that on such occasions. We will soon find out whether that was a protocol offense or something else. Furthermore, the citizens of Istria deserve a brighter tone in the president's speech. Condemning the main program guidelines of the party that received the support of the people at the democratic elections, the president gave another slap in the face to all the citizens who support that program. Interestingly enough, speaking of Istria, Tudjman also mentioned Koper. Why is it that while he condemns transcending borders, he "admits" that Slovene Koper is a part of Istria? Having characterized all the parties and programs that emphasize the uniqueness of Istria and transcend its Croatian borders as "dangerous and lethal," the president added that the IDS, too, is a "dangerous and lethal" political force.

The way in which the president talked about Italians in Istria, claiming that most Istrian Italians supported fascism, is also controversial. As a historian, he should know that only 3 percent of all citizens of Istria were members of the fascists party at the time of fascist dictatorship, and that some of them were also Croats. That president's statement offends Italians in Istria, our fellow citizens, and benefits only those people in Italy who are looking for public support for their own territorial pretensions toward Istria. Citizens of Istria will never agree to change borders, and knowing that no region in the world needs destabilization, least of all this one, the president is the last person one would have expected to aggravate the situation. Finally, let me say that it is positive that the president promised the soldiers of the national liberation war that they will have equal rights as soldiers of the patriotic war. Still, it is surprising that he did not do that earlier, for—as he himself said—that is up to him alone.

Inappropriate History Lesson

Furio Radin (representative of Italian ethnic community): "I was surprised by the tone of president's speech in Pazin, as well as by the topic of some of its passages. Without going into detail, I think that a history lesson—for those of us who know that history only too well—was quite inappropriate. We know the extent of Istrian suffering during fascism, when both the Croats and the Italians, and all those who opposed it, were harassed. It simply is not true that most Istrian Italians were on the side of fascism. Referring to reciprocity in determining the status of Italians in Istria cannot be the main factor in solving the problem of our ethnic community, as the president implied. The Croatian minority in Italy must have a corresponding level of protection in places where they live, but one must bear in mind that Italians are an indigenous nation in Istria.

Since regionalism is widely accepted in Istria, and since that is a European "philosophy," I think it is inappropriate to connect that yearning to political orientations from the past, as President Tudjman did. The citizens of Istria have made it clear that they consider Istria a part of Croatia, but I think that now we must seriously discuss its democratic organization. With regard to that, the citizens of Istria, and those of other Croatian regions,

have undoubtedly opted for the model of decentralized Croatia. We would like Istria to become a bridge between Croatia and Europe and consider this our biggest and most noble task. We are absolutely against changing borders, but we will try to make them as open as possible.

Let me finish by saying that, this time, I expected the president to deliver a speech that would bring the views of political Zagreb and Istria closer together, but it appears that the time has not yet come for that.

Deputy Prime Minister Comments on U.S. Trip

AU0207180994 Zagreb HINA in English 1546 GMT 2 Jul 94

[Unattributed report: "Croatia's Deputy Prime Minister Returns From United States"]

[Text] Zagreb, 2 Jul—Upon return from the United States, where he attended a meeting of the UN Economy and Social Council (ECOSOC), Croatian Deputy Prime Minister Ivica Kostovic told reporters at Zagreb Airport on Saturday that he had expounded "the specific position of Croatia as a country in a state of transition and a country with a large number of refugees and displaced persons, who have the right to development, social justice and return to their homes."

Kostovic also held talks with officials of the Helsinki Commission of Congress and the State Department's Office for Refugees. He said he had won assurance from the United States that it would continue extending support to Croatia. Speaking of talks with representatives of the Foreign Affairs Committee of Congress, Kostovic said he had portrayed "the deep humanitarian crisis and Croatia's determination to enable the return of refugees to their homes and to reintegrate the UNPAs [UN Protected Areas]." He added that he had stressed the need for the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] mandate to be re-examined.

Manolic, Mesic Evicted From Parliament

AU0307191094 Zagreb HINA in English 1741 GMT 3 Jul 94

[Unattributed report: "Statement by Croatian Helsinki Committee"]

[Text] Zagreb, July 3—The Croatian Helsinki Committee on Human Rights (HHO) said in a statement on Sunday that it received the matter on the eviction of Stipe Mesic from rooms of the Croatian Parliament's Speaker and Josip Manolic from rooms of Speaker of Parliament's House of Counties. The HHO also said that this morning Parliament's guard halted Stipe Mesic in the vestibule of the building of Parliament and after delivering the order on the eviction, which had been carried out without Mesic's presence, they did not allow him to enter the building. The same thing happened to Josip Manolic. Newly appointed secretary of Parliament Mihovil Klapsic gave an order on the eviction written on a piece of paper without the seal and ordered the guard not to allow Mesic and Manolic to enter their rooms, said HHO in the statement signed by its head Ivan Zvonimir Cicak.

Peterle, Granic Discuss 'New Ideas' for Relations

AU0107160594 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 1 Jul 94

[Text] Slovene and Croatian Foreign Ministers Lojze Peterle and Mate Granic met at the Bezanec manor house in Zagorje this morning. They finalized the agenda of the forthcoming meeting of the prime ministers of both countries, Dr. Janez Drnovsek and Nikica Valentic, and discussed some open issues in the relations between Croatia and Slovenia. Ilinka Todorovski reports from the Bezanec manor house near Krapina:

[begin Todorovski recording] After the 3-hour talks behind closed doors, Ministers Granic and Peterle decided to be rather reserved toward the reporters as this was allegedly above all a cordial and open working meeting dedicated to the preparations for the forthcoming prime ministerial summit scheduled to take place in Ljubljana on 8 July.

In a brief statement, the Croatian foreign minister assured that he was glad that he and Peterle have initiated numerous open issues that have been burdening the inter-state relations. He said that new ideas for the regulation of bilateral relations have surfaced in the talks. In this sense, Dr. Granic was convinced that the meeting in Ljubljana will be a step forward in the improvement of relations between the two neighbors.

Slovene Foreign Minister Peterle did not wish to say what sort of new ideas have emerged. He was especially satisfied with two of today's agreements, namely, that Slovenia and Croatia will tackle the issue of the Italian minority and the obligations stemming from the 1983 Rome Treaty at an expert and political level. Beside the relations with Italy, Peterle and Granic also discussed two regional topics, namely, the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the position of the Croatian occupied territories. As we were told, the views of Slovenia and Croatia toward these issues are very close.

Regarding concrete agreements made at the Bezanec manor house, the ministers, in a written statement for the public, concluded that prior to the Drnovsek-Valentic meeting in Ljubljana, that is, before next Friday, the economics and transportation ministers will meet as well as members of the commissions and working groups that are dealing with specific open issues in the bilateral relations. [end recording]

Crvenkovski Arrives, Welcomed by Valentic

LD0507103594 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 5 Jul 94

[Text] A delegation from Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia], headed by Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski, arrived on a two-day official visit to Croatia this morning. Prime Minister Nikica Valentic welcomed the guests at Zagreb's Pleso Airport. Official talks between Croatian and Macedonian representatives are expected to begin in the Croatian government headquarters in Zagreb.

RSK Assembly Ends Extraordinary Session

LD0207202894 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1911 GMT 2 Jul 94

[Excerpts] Knin, 2 Jul (TANJUG)—The extraordinary session of the Assembly of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] ended this evening with a report on activities and measures taken by the Knin government submitted by Prime Minister Borislav Mikelic.

Mikelic commented in particular on the strengthening of the law- governed state, saying that an effective system of tax control needs to be established, and corruption in state bodies eliminated. [passage omitted] President of the Assembly Branko Vojnica convened the next session for 20 July in Knin.

In a statement for TANJUG, Vojnica stressed that during the part of the session held behind closed doors the current situation in the RSK following the signing of the Zagreb agreement was discussed. The deputies were informed about the current situation. The discussion on defense focussed on the elements which need to be discussed at the next session, he said.

According to him, the discussion about energy resources ended with the conclusion that all areas must be subjected to electricity cuts proportionally, and distribution services must be held responsible if there are any abuses. [passage omitted]

RSK Defense Council Wants Borders Strengthened

LD0107145594 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1203 GMT 1 Jul 94

[Text] Knin, 1 Jul (TANJUG)—A session of the Supreme Defense Council of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] was held in Knin today. The political and security situation was discussed within the context of intensive preparations by Croatia for renewed aggression against the RSK, the RSK president's information service has said.

The Croatian leadership wants the war to continue, it has done everything to block the peace process, and is now launching an intensive media and diplomatic campaign to prepare both the domestic and international public for future aggression against Krajina, it was said at the session.

According to the statement, members of the Supreme Defense Council agreed that within the context of military preparations it was necessary to militarily and economically strengthen border areas with the Republic of Croatia to prevent people leaving the area as well as to strengthen security.

The RSK Supreme Defense Council also discussed the situation regarding salaries in the Army and the police and concluded that priority should be given to members of the Serb Krajina Army on front lines, who should always be fully provided for.

HSP Demands Ban on Activity of Serbian Party

LD0107191394 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 1 Jul 94

[Text] In a statement issued today, the Croatian Party of Rights [HSP - Hrvatska stranka prava] condemned statements by the leaders of the Serb National Party [SNS - Srpska narodna stranka] made at a news conference yesterday.

Milan Djukic [SNS chairman] and Veselin Pejnovic demand that Croatia be set up as a confederate state, which means that the occupied Croatian areas would be in a confederate alliance with the rest of Croatia. The HSP also stresses that Djukic's and Pejnovic's political aims are the same as those of Milan Babic and Milan Martic and that their activity is becoming increasingly unconstitutional.

In connection with this, the statement says that Mr. Djukic is unfit to be vice president of the Croatian Assembly and suggests that he be dismissed. The HSP also suggests that a ban on the further activity of the SNS be considered unless it clearly distances itself from the political stances of its leaders.

UNPROFOR To Investigate Explosions

AU0307151294 Zagreb HINA in English 1012 GMT 3 Jul 94

[Unattributed report: "UNPROFOR To Investigate Causes of Detonations From Sector East"]

[Text] Osijek, July 3—About twenty detonations echoing from the occupied area of Baranja and toward Sarvas could be heard last night and on Sunday morning.

According to the local Croatian army's officials in the district of Osijek, the UN Protection (UNPROFOR) liaison officer was informed of the explosions. UNPROFOR confirmed that 20 detonations were registered in the zones where the Russian UNPROFOR battalion and Belgian peacekeepers are deployed so that it sent teams for patrolling there.

According to the information and reports so far available, the explosions echoed from the area between the mouth of the Drava river into the Danube, near Aljmas, whereas some detonations were registered coming from the far parts of Baranja. UNPROFOR is to investigate causes and origin of detonations. It underlines this cannot be characterized as a military operation and, therefore, there is no reason for disturbance and worry among the citizens of Osijek, according to the report of the local Croatian army's officials' report.

Bobetko: War 'Not Over' Until UNPA's Free

AU0207173394 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 27 Jun 94 p 6

[Report by Z. Grgurinovic: "The War Is Not Over"]

[Text] Sisak—Yesterday, the head of the Croatian Army Supreme Headquarters, General of the Army Janko Bobetko, presented families of dead and missing soldiers of the 57th Brigade of the Croatian Army "Marijan Celjak" with patriotic-war commemorative documents marking the third anniversary of this first volunteer brigade. Speaking to soldiers of that famous brigade, named after its first deputy commander, who was killed in action, General Bobetko emphasized that the unit had played an honorable role in the patriotic war. The head of the supreme headquarters warned that their job is not over, for the war is still not over and said that all Croatian areas must be liberated. UNPROFOR [United Nations Protection Force] has another two and a half months before its mandate expires to fulfill its task and bring about the reintegration of UNPA [United Nations Protected Area] zones into the legal and political system of Croatia, and if it does not do that, we shall thank the peace-keeping forces and do that job on our own.

General Bobetko has also warned about abuse, reaching for the Croatian property and—which is most tragic of all—about the phenomenon of underestimating the victims of the war. He said that our fellow soldiers had not and would not die in vain, that it was up to all of us to provide for their families.

Reminiscing about the beginning of the 57th Independent Battalion, as it was then called, whose members went to Komarevo and stopped the advance of the Chetniks and the Yugo-army, Janko Bobetko emphasized that the decision to defend Sisak at that very location was absolutely correct. If Komarevo had then fallen, Sisak would be lost as well, and in that case, the battle for Zagreb would be fought somewhere between the Croatian metropolis and Velika Gorica.

Continuing with the ceremony, General Bobetko presented the award-winning soldiers and officers of the 57th Brigade "Marijan Celjak" with guns, and then gave a battleflag to the brigade. Major General Petar Stipetic, commander of the district of Zagreb, presented awards to the best soldiers.

Gligorov: No Reason for Poor Ties With FRY

AU0107155294 Skopje MILS-NEWS in English 1 Jul 94

[Unattributed report: "No Dilemmas on Border Line"]

[Text] In his interview for Belgrade BORBA, Macedonian [the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] President Kiro Gligorov spoke of Macedonia's relations with its neighbours, especially with Serbia, i.e. Federal Yugoslavia. In regard to Serbia and latest border situation, Gligorov stated there were forces in Serbia strongly against Macedonian independence, manifested in occasional articles in the media, which are quite different from what at least has been positive in the Serbian-Macedonian relations these past 50 years. Serbia recognized Macedonia back in 1944 and the Yugoslav Peoples' Army peacefully withdrew from Macedonia, Gligorov said. I really do not see what Serbia can gain by crossing 100, 200, or 500 metres into Macedonian territory. There simply is not a serious reason for tense relations unless forces believing they have a right to Macedonia have taken over in Serbia. Indeed, media in Serbia has lately remarkably campaigned against Macedonia, but it is not clear whether it has been ordered by someone or if it is only a result of pretentious informing from Macedonia, especially when stressing events foreign to our country's politics. Asked on his opinion on Serbian claims that the northern border is administrative, Gligorov underlined it was not true, adding there were maps clearly defining the border line. It is only true that the border line is not marked. I am sure Serbia has no better communication, human, cultural or any other kind, with any of the former Yugoslav republics than with Macedonia. It is a fact no one can deny, said Gligorov among other things in his interview for BORBA.

Ultimatum to Yugoslavia Over Borders To Expire

LD0207171894 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1632 GMT 2 Jul 94

[Text] Skopje, July 2 (TANJUG)—The ultimatum set by the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia for withdrawing troops from the border point Straza on Mount Cupino Brdo expires at midnight on Saturday, FYROM media reported. The ultimatum was set by FYROM Defence Minister Vlado Popovski on June 17.

Popovski demanded that a diplomatic solution be found to the problem within 15 days or the FYROM would launch a military action to seize the border point, the paper NOVA MAKEDONIJA wrote. As such a solution has not been found, FYROM troops can be expected to launch an action after midnight.

A diplomatic solution was not reached primarily because the border between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the FYROM is not a precisely defined and internationally recognized border but an administrative boundary between the Serbian and Macedonian municipalities defined at the time when the latter constituted a part of the southernmost republic of the former Yugoslav Federation.

The FYROM authorities, who insist that the border with Yugoslavia is 250 metres north of the Straza point, have launched a media campaign to create an impression that the Yugoslav Army has seized a part of the FYROM territory.

The FYROM media, which seems to have expected an energetic action by the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), have expressed disappointment because of their quick withdrawal from the area.

Officials of the Yugoslav Army and UNPROFOR forces in the FYROM said at a meeting in Belgrade on Friday they maintained good cooperation on the FYROM border, and expressed hope that the U.N. peacekeepers would contribute to further stabilization of the situation in the border region between the two states.

Deputy Chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army Lieutenant-General Blagoje Kovacevic and UNPROFOR commander in the FYROM Brigadier-General Trigve Telefson said the two sides had successfully settled several minor incidents on the Yugoslav-FYROM border, the Yugoslav General Staff press service said in a statement.

Since UNPROFOR's arrival on the FYROM territory in January 1993, their daily surveillance has given no ground for a conclusion that Yugoslavia is a threat to the FYROM.

In late June, the Yugoslav Government submitted to the U.N. a document denying all FYROM allegations about alleged border violation.

The Yugoslav Government said that its army had taken positions on the border with the FYROM in June 1992 and that the authorities in Skopje had so far made no objections to the demarcation line.

Serbian Troops Withdraw After Negotiations

AU0407102194 Skopje MILS-NEWS in English 4 Jul 94

[Unattributed report: "Yugoslav Army Withdrew"]

[Text] Yesterday, on the last day of the deadline for withdrawing Serbian troops from the peak Cupino Brdo, the Yugoslav Army units completely left the place and withdrew back on Serbian territory. Immediately following their withdrawal, the Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] troops, having been only 100 meters away, located themselves on the peak elevation Straza.

This Yugoslav Army move came unexpectedly and without announcement, following Macedonian Government diplomatic steps and protest notes to the authorities in Belgrade. UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] officials had again negotiated with Serbian Army representatives the day before yesterday, exposing full documentation, geographic maps, and cadastre reviews.

Gligorov Warns of Consequences of Greek Embargo

AU0407170894 Skopje MIC in English 4 Jul 94

[Unattributed report: "Gligorov: Destabilization of Macedonia"]

[Text] President Kiro Gligorov warned of the serious consequences which will result from the refusal of the European Court of Justice to order an urgent lifting of the Greek embargo.

Speaking before the press after the meeting with the French Minister for European Issues Allen Lamassoure in Skopje, Gligorov said that the result could be destabilizing for Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], and that it could spark a war which could drag the neighboring countries into it. Gligorov called on the European partners to exert pressure on Greece in order to lift the embargo that it imposed five months ago. He did not say how, but he noted that the EU [European Union] was giving Greece enormous financial help.

President Gligorov said that there were [words indistinct] Serbia, while the Serbian minority in the country was making "aggressive and unrealistic demands," refusing to take part in the current census of the population, which is being conducted under international control. "The increased tension will force Macedonia to ask for an increase in the presence of the UN forces, which now number some 1,300," the Macedonian president added.

Ministry Comments on European Blockade Ruling

AU0107161694 Skopje MIC in English 1 Jul 94

[Unattributed report: "Foreign Ministry: Decision Does Not Contribute To Solving Problem"]

[Text] In relation to the decision of the European Court of Justice in Luxembourg to reject the request of the European Commission to introduce temporary measures, that is, to order the Republic of Greece to abolish the measures towards the Republic of Macedonia [the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] that have been in effect since February 16, and in expectation of the main verdict, the Macedonian Foreign Ministry issued the following announcement: "The dispute against Greece, which is being held at the European Court of Justice, based on the accusations of the European Commission, is of internal nature of the Union, as it is treated as abuse of the authorizations foreseen with the internal documents of the European Union, that is, Article 225 in comparison with Article 224 of the European Agreement—provisions which serve to protect the interests of the community.

"The reactions in the public, in relation to this decision are quite curious, as well as the feeling that the Republic of Macedonia is a participant in the court process, which is not correct. The Republic of Greece has been accused and remains to be accused of violation of the European Union's internal regulative until the final decision.

"This court decision applies only to the request for introducing temporary measures until the reaching of the final decision, however, at the same time it stresses the assessment of the Court that the unilateral measures undertaken by Greece are in direct contradiction with the rules of the Union, which deal with the free flow of goods and the joint trade policy and that the legal arguments of the Commission seem sufficiently serious and soundly founded.

"The Macedonian Foreign Ministry is of the opinion that this decision of the court does not help solve the problem with the closing of the EU border toward the Republic of Macedonia, a problem that does not effect only Macedonia, but also the partners from the member states of the Union, and certainly, Greece also.

We expect that in the interest of the cooperation between the Republic of Macedonia and the European Union, and the respect of the internal regulative of the Union, the final decision should be made as soon as possible."

UN Claims To Hold 'Controversial' Straza Peak

AU0407170794 Skopje MIC in English 4 Jul 94

[Unattributed report: "Serbian Soldiers Backing Away From Straza"]

[Text] The fifteen Serbian soldiers who held peak Straza on Cupino Brdo near Kriva Palanka, 250 metres inside Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], for more than three weeks left the peak on Saturday afternoon [2 July] and moved back to FRY territory, Macedonian police and military sources report.

The withdrawal of the Serbian soldiers was carried out [word indistinct] diplomatic negotiations and methods with the help of representatives of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] in Macedonia. Namely, the Serbian camp was visited on Saturday by the UNPROFOR commanding officer for Macedonia General Brigadier (Tryggve Teleffsen).

The UNPROFOR forces in Macedonia took over the controversial peak Straza on the border between Macedonia and Serbia. The UNPROFOR commanding officer (Tryggve Teleffsen) stated for MIC: "I proposed and suggested that the Serbian Army move back a

hundred meters from that peak, which they did. I proposed the same to the Macedonian Army. UNPROFOR is now on the peak 1,703 Straza and not the Army of Macedonia. This situation is not tense anymore. UNPROFOR is between the Macedonian and the Serbian soldiers. This can be the first step towards a possible international border commission."

Crvenkovski To Visit Croatia for Talks

AU0507113694 Skopje MILS-NEWS in English 5 Jul 94

[Unattributed report: "Prime Minister Crvenkovski in Croatia"]

[Text] Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski will leave for Croatia today. During his two-day visit to Zagreb, he and his Croatian counterpart Nikica Valentic will determine dates of opening embassies in Zagreb and Skopje. Prime Minister Crvenkovski will also be received by the Croatian President Franjo Tudjman.

The Macedonian delegation will include Ministers Petrus Stefanov and Dzevdet Hajredini, as well as Foreign Ministry under-secretary Viktor Gaber. The two prime ministers are to also sign an agreement of friendly relations, along with many other agreements on economic cooperation, road and air traffic, support and protection of investments and avoiding double customs tariffs.

Minister Views Economic Problems, EU Relations

AU0507124994 Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4 Jul 94 p 7

[Interview with FYROM Economics Minister Petrus Stefanov by Gerald H. Ueberscher; place and date not given: "The Blockade Is Ruining Macedonia"]

[Text] [Ueberscher] How do you assess the economic situation of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM]?

[Stefanov] It is very bad. Early this year, we adopted a stabilization program, so that the GNP does not decrease more than 8 percent. It is doubtful, however, whether we will achieve this goal. In 1992, the GNP decreased 14 percent; in 1993, it decreased another 15 percent. There are at present more than 58,000 companies, but the number of bankruptcies is high. The rate of inflation was 1,900 percent in 1991/92; we are expecting 70 percent in 1994.

You see, the Yugoslavia conflict has had disastrous effects for us. The Greek transport blockade increases the price of oil alone by $65 per tonne. Important industrial branches only operate at 10 percent of their capacity, that is why many people are on compulsory leave or jobless. The situation is gloomy.

[Ueberscher] How are you trying to meet this miserable state of affairs?

[Stefanov] We are holding talks in Brussels to be able to export more agricultural products to EU member states. You must know that approximately 80 percent of our agriculture is in private hands; we have fertile land. However, we have had three periods of drought in succession. But this has not caused any supply bottlenecks—among other things, because exports have declined.

The embargo and the blockade have forced us to plan and build new transport routes—a highway via Albania and on to Bulgaria, for instance. Telecommunications and energy lines—we need everything, even though our coffers are empty. The guest workers in many countries are the only ones to bring us hard currency; there are 70,000 in Germany alone.

[Ueberscher] What is your relationship with Germany?

[Stefanov] The Federal Republic is our most important economic partner and the first country establishing diplomatic relations with us. My government hopes to receive further support. We hope above all that Germany will influence Greece as an EU and NATO member state to lift the blockade. No one in Macedonia, least of all the government, will make territorial claims to Greece or other countries. We want peaceful, good neighborhood relations with our neighbors and all the other countries.

Moreover, if you permit me this remark—tourists from Germany are cordially welcome here. They can feel safe and can travel everywhere in our country.

Bosnian Official: Leaders Knew of Arms Deals

AU0407174694 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 4 Jul 94

[Text] As we have already reported, Hasan Cengic, Bosnia-Herzegovina Government plenipotentiary, was a witness at the session of the State Chamber Commission investigating the involvement and responsibility of state officials in the so-called Maribor arms affair today. Among other things, he revealed numerous details about the arms trade and stated that former VIS [Security-Information Service] Director Miha Brejc and his subordinates knew about the arms discovered at Maribor airport [in 1993]. Sandi Frelih reports from the news conference by the president of the inquiry commission, Zoran Mador, held after the closed session:

[Begin Frelih recording] The Slovene political leadership at that time knew about the entire affair. None of the Slovene officials made any personal profit from the arms trade. The testimony of Hasan Cengic revealed other arms trafficking, which will create additional work for the inquiry commission. This is how we would briefly summarize Zoran Mador, president of the inquiry commission: Mador first said that the Bosnian Embassy last week informed him of a letter from Cengic, in which he stated that he was willing to testify in front of the commission that Slovenia guaranteed his personal security and prevented contacts with reporters. According to Mador, Cengic answered all the questions constructively about the Maribor affair and other arms trading. He introduced himself as the plenipotentiary of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government and as such conducted all the deals.

He discussed general aid to Bosnia with [President] Milan Kucan, who directed him to the interior minister at the time, Igor Bavcar, who sent him to the VIS director, Dr. Miha Brejc. Brejc and his assistants allegedly knew that Maribor case involved arms.

Regarding contacts with the Slovene Government, Cengic said that the government, in reply to a letter about general aid, promised to provide it. Therefore, the director and the employees of the VIS, who carried out their duties correctly, knew about the arms cargoes at Maribor airport. When helicopters could no longer fly to Bosnia- Herzegovina, Cengic requested that the arms remained in Maribor until the situation improved.

The Bosnian representative today gave thanks for the aid that Bosnia had received at the most difficult of moments. He voiced the hope that his testimony would positively influence future relations with his country, that open issues, such as the payment for a Bell helicopter, would be resolved, and that the Maribor arms would end up in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In the talks about general aid, Cengic did not meet with Janez Jansa. He twice discussed with him other business that he had with the Defense Ministry. In reply to a question about other arms dealing, Mador said that Cengic had provided some documents for the commission and would send more. The three documents feature the Interior and the Defense Ministries and a well-known individual who has supposedly worked for the state administration. [end recording]

Analysts: Economy 'Getting Back on Its Feet'

AU0307194294 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 28 Jun 94 p 3

[Report by Bozena Kriznik: "Slovenia Already Past the Lowest Point of the Economic Crisis"]

[Text] Ljubljana 27 July—The spring report that has been, just as every year at this time, prepared by the Institute for Macroeconomic Analyses and Development breathes considerable optimism. The conclusions of the analyses indicate that Slovenia has already overcome the lowest point in the economic crisis. What next? Continue the current economic policy or change something? The members of the government economic council examined this at today's session when they were discussing economic trends and the projection of development by the year 1998 based on them.

Among the key shifts that indicate that the economy is getting back on its feet is the growth of industrial production, which has been rising steadily for nearly three-fourths of a year while all industrial branches have been livening up. According to the government, this provides a sound basis for announcing a 4-percent growth in GNP this year. Prime Minister Dr. Janez Drnovsek is convinced that this trend is long-term. By the year 1998 the growth is even expected to increase to 4.5 percent annually. The members of the economic council also adopted a stance on the realized inflation rate. The decrease to 13 percent announced at the beginning of the year is not realistic. It seems that price increases have settled at approximately 1 to 1.5 percent per month and that shifting to a lower level (which will doubtlessly be necessary) will obviously prove a tougher nut to crack. The council's opinion is that more time or additional economic measures will be needed for this. What kind of measures this might entail is still up in the air.

Does the tripartite agreement on salaries mean that salaries are under control? Bearing in mind that none of the mechanisms so far have borne any fruit, the government's economic council believes that the agreement is the most that can be accomplished regarding salaries at the moment. In connection with privatization, the question of whether this process can be completed by the end of the year or whether the deadline should be extended, arises. The government plans to insist on the given deadlines (except in cases where they are problems with denationalization or revision) as the economy will be not be effective and companies will not react normally until the property structure is established. It is not only privatization in industry that is important, but also that of insurance companies and banks.

There was also talk about interest rates, which are too high. The government will try to influence a decrease in the passive interest rate by obliging institutionalized investors to cut them. In the future it also intends to gradually abolish the revaluation factor (R). Faced with the dilemma whether to maintain or increase the foreign currency surplus or relax the supply of foreign currency, the members of the council were not entirely unanimous. The opinion that this surplus should not be spent carelessly has prevailed. The effects on the foreign currency exchange rate should be offset by other means.

ΩEconomic Cooperation With Austria Examined

94P20945A

[Editorial Report] Because Austria has been an important economic partner of Slovenia, the 12 June Austrian referendum endorsing Vienna's decision to join the European Union (EU) has prompted the Slovene press to reexamine Slovene-Austrian economic relations.

Dr. Josef Tsazh, an official in the Austrian Ministry of Economy, told the Maribor daily VECER of 14 June that there have been no "major problems" in Slovene-Austrian trade relations so far, and he does not anticipate any significant changes after 1 January 1995—the official date of Austria's accession to the EU—because Slovenia has already concluded special agreements with the EU. Tsazh said that the EU foreign trade regime for agricultural products might actually prove "more favorable" for Slovenia. He also noted that there will probably not be any changes in the border regime.

The same issue of VECER published an interview with Joze Drofenik, an adviser in the Slovene Ministry for Economic Relations and Development, on how the Austrian accession to the EU will affect Slovene-Austrian economic relations. Drofenik said that he sees advantages for the Slovene economy, because Austria will have to lower its import duties to conform with the EU trade regime. Slovenia will be able to "substantially" increase its exports of industrial products to Austria. Austria's agricultural sector, however, will still remain partially protected, VECER reported.

The 4 June Ljubljana daily DELO analyzed the existing barriers in bilateral trade. According to the article, Slovene exporters complain about high import duties, internal taxes, and quotas that they, unlike their EFTA and EU competitors, encounter in the Austrian market, particularly emphasizing difficulties in exporting processed agricultural products like wine and beer, textiles, ferro-metallurgical products, appliances, and chemical products. Regarding transportation, Slovenia would like Austria to allocate more road-use truck permits and lower its fees for trains. DELO noted that Slovene firms hope that Austria will issue more work permits and border-trade permits.

A 7 June article in DELO examined the problems most often cited by Austrian partners, such as the detrimental effect low prices for alcohol and tobacco products in Slovene duty-free shops have on Austrian retailers and the difficulties Austrian firms have in complying with changing Slovene laws regulating company and bank operations. DELO reported that during Austrian Finance Minister Ferdinand Lacina's visit to Slovenia in May an agreement was reached to increase professional and technical cooperation in the financial sector.

The article also cited some Austrian data and views on economic cooperation. With 670 investments valued at 2.4 billion schillings, Austrian investments comprise 25 percent of all foreign investments in Slovenia, taking second place after Germany. According to DELO, the investments are concentrated in the industrial and service sector, with the largest investments in the chemical industry (Henkel Zlatorog, Sava Kranj), cement industry (Salonit Anhovo), and paper and cellulose industry (Medvode and Vevce). Three Austrian banks are operating in Slovenia and Austrian insurance companies are showing interest in the Slovene market. DELO also mentioned the increasingly important role of rail connections to the Slovene port of Koper, which has become the main port for Austrian overseas trade.

The 16 April issue of the Ljubljana economic weekly GOSPODARSKI VESTNIK reported "spectacular growth" in Slovene-Austrian trade in 1993, with Austrian exports reaching 6.8 billion schillings. Among Slovenia's trading partners, Austria ranked fifth after Germany, Italy, Croatia, and France. Major items exported to Slovenia were machines and vehicles (27 percent), semifinished products (24 percent), and chemical products (15 percent). Major items imported from Slovenia were semifinished products (36 percent), machines and vehicles (23 percent), and other finished products (26 percent). The journal concluded that despite the positive development of economic relations with its neighbor, Slovenia's continuing trade deficit with Austria is unsatisfactory.

Federal

Kontic Receives Russian Contact Group

LD0107130994 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1133 GMT 1 Jul 94

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Jul (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Radoje Kontic received in the Palace of the Federation today Russian Ambassador to Belgrade Gennadiy Shikin and Russia's envoy to the contact group Aleksey Nikiforov.

In the course of their lengthy and friendly talks, the two sides discussed bilateral relations between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Russia and the resolution of the crisis in former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Federal Prime Minister Radoje Kontic thanked them for providing information on the contact group's work and reiterated a firm policy pursued by Yugoslavia that a way out of the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis should be sought within political, not military options. Our interest is, Prime Minister Kontic said, to see the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina ended, a permanent peace reached, and a just political solution acceptable to all the warring sides found. Prime Minister Kontic particularly stressed that reasons for maintaining the UN Security Council sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia no longer existed.

Government Barred From UN Meeting on Sarajevo

LD0107181394 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1703 GMT 1 Jul 94

[Text] Belgrade, July 1 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government will ask the United Nations to explain why it barred Yugoslavia from attending a pledging conference for the reconstruction of Sarajevo. The government instructed the Federal Foreign Ministry to send a letter to that effect to U.N. Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali, said the Information Ministry. The government said it had received an invitation for its representative to participate in the conference held on June 29 in New York. It had also announced its contribution for the reconstruction of the battered city whose population includes many Serbs. However, the Yugoslav representative was prevented from attended. [as received]

Border Cooperation Protocol Signed With Albania

LD0207213794 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2020 GMT 2 Jul 94

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Jul (TANJUG)—The 43rd regular session of the main joint Yugoslav-Albanian commission for border incidents ended in Belgrade today, the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs has announced.

The session, which began on 27 June, included discussion of the situation on the Yugoslav-Albanian border and the signing of a protocol specifying measures that the two sides will take in order to improve the situation on the border, a statement says.

Army, FYROM, UNPROFOR Generals Meet

LD0107160194 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1511 GMT 1 Jul 94

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Jul (TANJUG)—Lieutenant Colonel General Blagoje Kovacevic, deputy chief of general staff of the Yugoslav Army, and Norwegian Brigadier General Trygve Tellefsen, commander of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] forces in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM] and their associates met in Belgrade today. As reported by the information service of the Yugoslav Army's general headquarters, generals Kovacevic and Tellefsen noted that relations and cooperation between UNPROFOR and the Yugoslav Army along the Yugoslav-FYROM border are good and that both sides are interested in promoting this cooperation. Several minor incidents that had taken place in the past were resolved successfully. Gen. Kovacevic expressed the hope that UNPROFOR would contribute to the stabilization of relations along the border.

Minister Comments on Visit to Zambia, Zimbabwe

AU0407144794 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 4 Jul 94

[Text] After his visit to Lusaka, Zambia, Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic visited Harare in Zimbabwe, where he spoke to his hosts about ways to improve political and economic cooperation with these traditionally friendly nonaligned countries. However, this was not the only topic of his talks in Lusaka and Harare. In reply to our question on whether he had discussed the crisis in the former Yugoslavia and former Bosnia-Herzegovina, and to what extent, Vladislav Jovanovic stated especially for Belgrade Radio the following:

[Begin Jovanovic recording] One could say that this topic dominated the talks. This is not surprising considering the fact that these countries are also following with great interest the situation in our region and support all efforts aimed at finding a political solution. In this sense they were very interested in hearing our view. They also wanted to be assured once again that we were firmly committed to the policy of peace and that we wanted to engage as many other countries as possible to assist the peace process and restrain advocates of the idea of returning to the war option.

We briefed them in great detail on the situation, the main elements of the situation, our views, and our aims, which are at the same time the aims of the responsible section of the international community. We stressed that African countries, even smaller countries can help if they themselves start promoting peace more vigorously. In this way they would reduce space, time, and the possibilities of those who want to intensify the war, which

they need to impose themselves with their arguments, with their numbers, and their manipulations.

We have received full support and understanding for this policy. At the same time we felt that these countries will also take a more active part in strengthening the peace option and strive, wherever they can, in the organizations of which they are members, to see that the burden hanging over Yugoslavia is lifted so that it can return to full membership in the international community as soon as possible. [end recording]

ΩReaction to New Plan To Divide Bosnia

94P20953A

[Editorial Report] The 12 June issue of the Belgrade daily POLITIKA and the 14 June issue of the Belgrade daily BORBA published maps purporting to show the territorial division of Bosnia-Herzegovina that will be proposed by the international Contact Group negotiators. POLITIKA also published a map displaying what it claimed to be the actual situation on the ground. The two dailies discussed the Serbian reaction to the map and the peace plan proposed by the Contact Group. According to the POLITIKA article, the source of the maps it published was the most recent issue of SRPSKA VOJSKA, the journal of the general staff of the army of the so-called republic of Srpska in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

POLITIKA reported that, based on initial unofficial comments in the Bosnian Serb "capital" of Pale, the Serbian reaction to the purported map drawn up by the Contact Group has been negative. The Bosnian Serbs complained that the map is being "imposed" as the starting point for peace negotiations and that they will be told to "take it or leave it." POLITIKA stated that "by agreement in Vienna" and "in the presence of the Clinton emissary, Charles Redman," the Croatian-Muslim coalition "published its own map of the territorial division" of Bosnia-Herzegovina. That map, which POLITIKA claimed was the basis of the Contact Group's proposal, was "totally unrealistic, or more exactly megalomaniacal even from the European point of view, not to mention from the Bosnian Serb point of view," when the actual state of affairs on the ground is taken into consideration. POLITIKA cited the reaction of Colonel Sava Sokapovic of the Bosnian Serb army reported in SRPSKA VOJSKA as typical of that in Pale: "What these cartographers are offering is totally clear. They are proposing that the Serbs make new, significant concessions" resulting in "territorial fragmentation into several bottlenecks that are equivalent to a noose around the neck of the Serbian people," giving "an outlet to the Drina river to the Muslim-Croatian federation, linking it to Sandzak," and taking from the Serbs "land with natural and economic resources that is theirs according to centuries-old rights. This will not do!"

What stands out, POLITIKA argued, is that the map displaying the purported proposal of the Contact Group satisfies almost all of the demands of the Muslims and Croats:

—It gives the Croats and Muslims access to the Drina and Sava rivers, links all the ethnic enclaves, returns the towns of Bosanski Brod, Derventa, Odzak, and Bosanski Samac to the Croats, and grants a "huge" expansion of Muslim-controlled territory in western Bosnia, from south of Bihac almost up to Drvar and eastward to Prijedor and Sanski Most.

—Sarajevo would be left to the Muslims, together with the suburbs of Hadzici, Ilijase, Rajlovci, and Hrsnica, where "the heart of the Bosnia- Herzegovina industry is located."

—The Muslims would be linked, across Trnovo, along the Zeleznica river, to Gorazde, creating an "uninterrupted bridge of the 'green transversal'" across Bosnian territory. (This is a reference to the theory often advanced in the Serbian media that the Islamic world is attempting to establish a swath of Muslim-dominated territory across the Balkan peninsula.)

POLITIKA noted a number of other territorial issues that the Serbs dispute or that the map does not address:

—Some especially significant territories controlled by Serbs, but of great interest to the Muslims, would fall under the status of the "grey zones." POLITIKA asserted that it is believed that these could include Rogatica, Visegrad, Vlasenica, Brcko, Doboj, and Zvornik.

—A very narrow Krajina-Semberija corridor and a narrow link of the Drina river basin with Romania-Jahorina regions would remain in the hands of the Serbs, but Kupres, Jajce, and Srbobran (Donji Vakuf) would be taken away from the Serbs.

—The map did not address the issue of the "legitimate rights of the Serbs to a part of Mostar," a border on the Neretva river, and an outlet to the sea.

POLITIKA reported that the first reactions from other countries are "ominous," claiming that foreign news agencies maintain that the "plan is tailored in such a way as to take into consideration all the basic demands of the Muslims and Croats so that the Serbs would not accept it."

The 14 June issue of BORBA reported further reaction to the map it claimed would be the basis of the Contact Group proposals. It cited Zoran Atanaskovic, president of the executive council of the Serbian National Renewal, a Serbian opposition political party, as saying that the map is "unacceptable to the Serbian side." He added that "we do not recall a war in which the side that lost the war set the conditions" for the peace settlement. BORBA reported that "according to some nonofficial information, the new map does not envision Serbian access to the sea," even though the Owen-Stoltenberg plan stipulated that this would be possible within the context of an agreement with Croatia. The new proposal, the article says, also does not include the division of Sarajevo into two cities, a solution to the Sarajevo

problem supported by the European Union. According to its sources, BORBA said, the plan of the Contact Group does not mention anything about the gradual removal of the sanctions, nor does it say anything about the independence of the republic of Srpska.

Serbia

Seselj: Volunteers Ready To Defend Corridor

AU0407174394 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Jul 94 p 3

[Report by M. Mikuljanac: "Volunteers Ready To Defend the Corridor"]

[Text] Belgrade—The Serbian Radical Party [SRS] has reliable information that the Muslims and Croats are preparing a major offensive against the Serbian republic. This was stated by Vojislav Seselj, president of the SRS, at a news conference yesterday [30 June].

Seselj claims that the offensive is imminent and SRS volunteers are ready to depart to where they are needed.

"This was all planned in the West," the leader of the Radicals explained. "The corridor would be breached for two or three days and then foreign forces would start interfering, NATO would intervene, so that the new situation is preserved and used as the basis for some new peace negotiations. The Serbian army must, therefore, respond so fiercely that the Croats and the Muslims would never dream of attacking us again," Seselj said.

Answering journalists' questions, Seselj said that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia must help its brothers in the Serbian republic, but should not interfere directly in the war in former Bosnia-Herzegovina as long as the civil war rages. "But if some foreign troops start interfering in this conflict, if, for instance, Croatia deploys its regular troops that are amassed in Zupanja, then Yugoslavia must take a direct part in this war," the SRS president said.

Draskovic: Sarajevo, Zagreb Cannot Defeat Serbs

AU0107153594 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 1 Jul 94

[Text] The Presidency of the Serbian Renewal Movement [SPO] has decided to withdraw all of its deputies from the Federal Assembly, from the working groups and the assembly committees, until Depos [Democratic Movement of Serbia] is given back the contentious 11 deputy seats. This was stated by the party's spokesman Ivan Kovacevic at a news conference. Dragoljub Stankic reports:

[Stankic] The Presidency of the Serbian Renewal Movement has decided to invite the 11 deputies that the SPO has subsequently elected to all sessions of the Chamber of Citizens of the Federal Assembly. However, they would only be seated in the club of the party's deputy caucus. A request was again sent to the Commission for Immunity and Appointments to remove the 11 DEPOS deputies from the Federal Assembly, Ivan Kovacevic said.

Journalists were then addressed by Party President Vuk Draskovic, who was slightly late for the news conference. He said he hoped that peace would be established in Bosnia and that the Serbian side would accept peace, and that Russia, the European Union, and United States will...

[Begin Draskovic recording] ...dispel the insane ambitions and illusion of the hawks and war extremists in Sarajevo and Zagreb that, by extending the war, they can accomplish their aims, especially not the aim of military defeat of the Serbs, be it in Bosnia-Herzegovina or in the Serbian Krajina. [end recording]

[Stankic] Draskovic also said that he believed that the arms will go quiet, but that peace for us will be equal to misfortune if the sanctions are not lifted. As he said, the sanctions will not be lifted until a political agreement was found in Serbia on a general renaissance.

Djindjic Views Peace Prospects, U.S. Stance

AU0107150194 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 1 Jul 94

[Text] At a regular news conference, Zoran Djindjic, president of the Democratic Party, presented the party's views on the course of the peace talks [in Bosnia-Herzegovina], harvest, the purchase of wheat, and the work of the republican government so far. Svetlana Zivkovic reports:

[Zivkovic] According to Djindjic, the fact that the United States is allowing the Muslim side to continue to claim that the negotiations do not bind them and that they will not agree to any territorial division poses the greatest danger for the peace process. This, Djindjic stressed, continually invalidates the platform for peace talks and for achieving piece. Djindjic holds the view that by lifting the sanctions introduced against Yugoslavia, the international community would demonstrate its serious intentions. It should award cooperative behavior and punish the destructive one. Otherwise, the Muslim side, which is behaving like a spoiled brat who is allowed to do everything he wants, could intensify the war, the president of the Democratic Party stressed.

Speaking about the harvest and the purchase of wheat, Djindjic said that the price of 18 paras per kilogram is not acceptable to the Democratic Party. The Democrats see the solution in the setting up of a market at which surpluses of wheat that have not been purchased by the commodity reserves department would be traded. Those who purchase wheat should also be enabled to obtain an export license, while farmers should be offered, as a form of compensation, the chance to become co-owners of silos, storehouses, and drying plants that are owned by the state.

Commenting on the work of the republican government in the last 100 days, Djindjic concluded with satisfaction that the government had done even more than could have been expected. Within its abilities and powers, the government has managed to solve many problems, but has not tacked systemic changes, Zoran Djindjic said.

Agriculture Minister Comments on Harvest Results

AU0107155394 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 1 Jul 94

[Report by Marko Markovic]

[Excerpt] All surpluses of wheat and fruit that are offered will have to be purchased from the farmers. This was stated by Ivko Dzonovic, republican minister of agriculture, during his talks with the directors of cooperatives and wheat-milling enterprises in Kraljevo. Federal Economy Minister Tomislav Simovic and the heads of the Raska, Morava, and Rasin districts also took part in the talks. Marko Markovic reports from Kraljevo:

[Markovic] Of the 940,000 hectares sown with wheat, we expect a yield of 3.5 million tonnes of bread wheat. The areas harvested so far show that the yield is exceeding predictions. It is also certain that after meeting all the needs of our republic, Montenegro, and the Serbian Republic [of Bosnia-Herzegovina], Serbia will have a 1.1 million-tonne surplus. The key question at present is how to purchase the wheat and store it in silos and storages without causing inflationary shocks. This was stated by Ivko Dzonovic, republican minister of agriculture, at the meeting in Kraljevo. [passage omitted]

'Purges' in Serbia's Districts Reported

94BA0336A Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 17 Jun 94 pp 16-18

[Article by Biserka Matic: "Changes in the Okrugs: Work of Thugs"]

[Text] *The list of new prefects drawn up by the Main Committee of the SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia] and rubber-stamped by the Serbian Government is regarded out in the field—in the okrugs, among socialists—as a purge; by holding on to corrupt people, the SPS might finally be convinced that Lenin and Dr. Markovic were right.*

Life is increasingly expensive, wages are increasingly inadequate, young people do not know what to do with their diplomas and themselves, just as farmers and the state do not know what to do with their wheat; those on mandatory leave have not yet returned to work while those who are ostensibly working have been pacified so that they are scarcely breathing; Serbdom plods along in complete uncertainty while Serbia merrily, feverishly, and convulsively awaits the outcome of the drama with the okrug prefects. All that is needed is for them to be appointed and for the just-selected ambassadors to be sent off to their destinations, and Serbia, it is said, can turn its eyes toward peace. All other Serb concerns are minor compared to those rocking it from the field!

In fact, it is not reliably known what the competencies of the okrugs are, nor exactly what their prefects do (and even less what use they are), but the battle over the prefects has assumed such momentum that all of Serbia reverberates with it. The level of convulsion caused by the dismissal and appointment of okrug prefects is such that it could possibly be compared with what happened after the famous Serbian Eighth Session, when Stambolic supporters were replaced by Milosevic's people throughout the provinces. It is not essential which line goes up or down; what is important is that the personnel changes are being conducted publicly, according to rules inaugurated in the previous showdown, and thus in front of all of Serbia.

The Serbian Government, which by replacing nine okrug prefects initiated the personnel merry-go-round, is acting as if it never imagined what sort of tempest it was provoking. Apparently regarding itself as innocent, since it got the entire list of new prefects from the Main Committee of the Socialist Party of Serbia, the government received it—for the purpose of acknowledgment. The bigger question, according to our sources, was not raised even by those few individuals in the government who are regarded as representatives of the opposition. The SPS government, the Main Committee's list—what could be controversial here?

New Airing

The very first reactions, before the personnel changes were even disclosed, showed that the Serbian Government nevertheless cannot wash its hands of everything in this way. While unofficially it defends itself by saying that there is no political background to the dismissals of the former prefects, that allegedly the majority of those replaced left because of new positions and that it is simply "debating" past appointments, SPS members in the field are—uncharacteristically for that party—offering fierce resistance to the new appointees.

The Serbian Government's decision has encountered major opposition in Kosmet [Kosovo and Metohija] (where socialists have called the whole matter a purge based on the socialist recipe), in Uzice, Sapac, Pancevo, and Nis, while rebellion is expected in other Serbian cities as well. The SPS offensive against the opposition, which was recently announced by Radmilo Bogdanovic (who has recently had major problems because of his public statements), has been transformed into an offensive against the party's own membership. The brunt has been borne, personally, by SPS members themselves! It is hard to verify to what extent this is in accordance with the alleged decision by the Main Committee of the SPS (which since the election has devoted only one meeting exclusively to personnel issues) that one-third of the leadership must be replaced, but it is nevertheless easy to trace out certain coordinates.

After all, there has not been a bigger party "airing" in the SPS since the socialists' Second Congress, when Bakocevic, Trifunovic, and several others from the old guard disappeared from the party scene and the "ranks" were rejuvenated by the Percevic-Dacic tandem. That airing, which arose with okrug prefects, although minor in scope (only a grain of sand in the proverbial sea of membership), might have passed unnoticed if one potential ambassador and one appointed prefect, in the persons of Zivorad Igic and Sinisa Batalo, had not at the same time been brought onto the scene. About the former it is said that he is not right for the post of ambassador, about the latter that he is not right for the post of prefect. The general belief is that both of them are "adorned" by intolerance, as their primary character trait. But they are not the only ones involved here, although intolerance as a characteristic is very much in demand in the SPS.

Thus, under the government decision, Batalo is the new prefect of Southern Banat Okrug! NOVI PANCEVAC (10 June of this year) published on page five an announcement by the united opposition and the SRS [Serbian Radical Party]: "Batalo is not the right man for the post of prefect." Why not? Because a prefect must be a figure who is first of all professional and willing to engage in dialogue, not someone who is vindictive, prone to fraudulent dealings and abuses.... This is then followed by a series of questions about what connection Batalo has with agriculture, with the economy, and with the small-scale economy, and a series of answers indicating that he has no connection whatsoever. A lengthy list of his faults is then presented, from his involvement in various purges that have shaken Pancevo to the use of state money for parties, travel, and extensive fraternizing. Finally, the crowning proof: "It is evident that Mr. Batalo has done nothing positive even for the Socialist Party, which is best indicated by all the past affairs that he has conducted against decent SPS people."

The Pancevo united opposition and the Serbian radicals conclude that the SPS and the government had a better option than Batalo "because there are decent and professional people in the SPS." Naturally, what is decent and professional for the opposition is one thing, while what the SPS thinks about that is another thing. At least in the past, its role has been to make appointments and not to think things through. For these reasons, it is most likely that the statement by Dusan Vukajlovic, a member of the Executive Committee of the Democratic Party of Serbia [DSS], will go unnoticed: He says that the ruling party unerringly has the most intolerant and most rigid cadre in its ranks, like the apparatchik of Southern Banat Okrug, Sinisa Batalo.

SK-PJ at the Back Door

No less uproar was provoked by the dismissal of Radenko Stepic and the appointment of Dusan Milosevic as the prefect of Macvan Okrug. Stepic was promoted to the post of director of the Fund for the Protection and Utilization of Farm Land (understandable, since he is an agronomist), while Milosevic, who is a political scientist, was the chairman of the Okrug Committee of the SPS in Sapac. Zivko Topalovic, the SPO [Serbian Renewal Movement] chairman in that city, tells NIN that his party is closely monitoring everything that is happening in the SPS, as well as the structures of power in that area, but that it is almost indifferent about what figures hold individual posts. They are all the spitting image of each other, the faithful guardians of power and only the executors of a policy from which—says Topalovic—we do not expect any shift for the better; on the contrary, things will just get worse and worse.

The SPO has yet to catch the previous prefect, Stepic, "in the act" of doing anything; his term as prefect went by unnoticed, just like the function that he performed. Topalovic poses the question: Did the SPS and SK-PJ [League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia] decide to make the okrug a stronger place in the transmission of power from the republic to the opstina level?

The chairman of the SRS Okrug Committee and federal parliament deputy Cedomir Vasiljevic alleges that there is reliable information indicating that four out of the six appointed prefects are members of the SK-PJ, from the cadre list, he says, of Dr. Mira Markovic. He says that this is the case with Pristina, Vranje, Prizren, and Pec, and most likely with Macvan Okrug as well. He says that the radicals will shortly learn for sure whether Milosevic (Dusan) is from the SK-PJ list.

Petar Kosijer, chairman of the Democratic Party Okrug Committee in Sapac, feels that neither the okrugs nor the opstinas have any say in any matter and that the dismissed Stepic "was unable to stand out," while Zoran Stefanovic of the Democratic Party of Serbia observes that Stepic was one in a series of people who did nothing for the Macvan region, because "people are limited by the program and policy of the SPS, even when they are capable and good professionals."

While in Macvan Okrug and Southern Banat Okrug the opposition is suggesting to the government that it seek out more decent and capable socialists, if it must, in Zlatibor Okrug and four Kosmet okrugs the socialists are proposing to Marjanovic's cabinet that it reexamine its decision on the appointments. Some opstina committees of the SPS in Zlatibor Okrug believe that the business surrounding the dismissal of former prefect Slobodan Vermezovic was not on the up and up, and they accuse the leadership of the Uzice socialists of having played a dishonorable role in that. The SPS Opstina Committee for Nova Varos even sent a letter to the Main Committee and to the secretary of the Executive Committee, Milomir Minic, in which it explicitly alleges that the SPS Okrug Council for Zlatibor Okrug did not achieve agreement on the appointment of Zoran Militarov, the deputy secretary general of the Serbian Assembly. The socialists of Nova Varos have full confidence in Vermezovic, "a

sworn communist, in questions of economics, organizational and especially political adherence to principles and consistency from the viewpoint of the SPS"! It appears that these qualities count for nothing: Militarov seemed better to the Main Committee in Belgrade. After all, Militarov, who last Saturday, accompanied by people's deputy Zoran Andjelkovic, paid a visit to the "Rujno" printing company, confirmed to the local media that henceforth he will be the okrug prefect. Afterward he returned to Belgrade, which he allegedly will not leave until things have been cleared up with Vermezovic, and until it is officially confirmed that he will be the one. Meanwhile, it is said of him that he is closer to the SK-PJ than to the socialists, which we hope Vasiljevic, who suspects the communists of again laying waste to the okrugs, will check out.

7,000 Disappointed People

If something momentous were not happening in the ranks of the Socialist Party, if, say, the hard wing had not defeated the "softer core," then it would be possible to conclude that some demon had entered the SPS, forcing it to work against itself. According to upsetting reports coming in from Kosmet, the socialists of Pristina, Prizren, Pec, and Mitrovica are literally on their feet. The okrug personnel changes are adding to all the misfortunes that are befalling them. The report that the government has replaced the prefects of four okrugs (Milos Simovic of Kosovo, Dragan Pelevic of Mitrovica, Miladin Ivanovic of Pec, and Blaze Damjanovic of Prizren) with people whom the local socialists neither nominated nor hoped for has been received with open protests.

The Pec socialists, knowing where all this came from, have asked the SPS Main Committee to take another look at why Jova Popovic was appointed prefect and Miladin Ivanovic was dismissed. The former prefect even believes that his work was underrated, and even worse, that the work of the Opstina Committee of the SPS was too!

Thus, the aforementioned purge. Although there have been no explanations for the appointments, some have been mentioned unofficially. For example, the shortcoming of the former prefect of Kosovo Okrug is that his family has not lived in Kosmet for more than 10 years! However, NIN has learned that in early February Simovic requested from the mayor of Pristina that the prime minister be replaced because of unprofessionalism and incompetence. The response to this was the demand that Simovic be replaced—and he was caught.

What a surprise the Serbian Government had in store for the remaining Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosmet when it appointed to Simovic's post the republic minister for transportation and communication, Aleksa Jokic, who—according to the reaction by the regional committee of the DSS—"neither has lived nor intends to live here"! By bringing in someone from the outside, the leadership and top man of the Serbs are personally letting Kosmet cadre know that there are no reliable people among them for such an important post. That is how Jokic's appointment has been received in the south of Serbia.

It is suspected in Kosmet that the troubles with the new okrug prefects, whom legal theory in fact defines as agents of the central institutions, will not end with this. The "felling" of directors is imminent, although it has not yet begun, they say, and they are almost without exception SPS people.

What is happening in Nis also smells of a purge in the ranks of the socialists. There the matter is deemed a clash between two powerful figures—one whose usefulness has lapsed and the other in full force of service to his party. In that city, which blames former influential party comrades for the fact that Nis is not right behind Belgrade in every regard, there is plenty of talk about how some directors are no longer what they used to be. And the tired and weary, as Slobodan Milosevic once said, must retire. If they do not, they can always be dismissed!

Even in the past, the Socialist Party has had, like in soccer, people "in position," from enterprises to okrugs, and from courtrooms to mental hospitals. The okrugs, in and of themselves (although at the time when they were created they provoked a major uproar), have not been of much use to Serbia. Rather, as people's deputy Dr. Vojislav Vukcevic says, they were "contrived as a convenient opportunity to provide for cadre of the ruling party." In legal theory and practice, they are the incarnation of the dual-track system. Thus, the extended hand of the central authorities or a means for fettering and restraining local self-rule, for example (especially if it is too opposition-dominated). That is also the most likely reason that the ruling party attaches so much importance to okrug prefects, "high-ranking state officials who implement the government's program in the field" (?!).

It could be said based on certain personnel decisions that the SPS is not relinquishing the services of those who, by serving it while continuing to work for their own ends, have lost their moral purity, honor, and good reputation along the way. By holding on to corrupt people, the SPS might finally be convinced that Lenin and Dr. Markovic were completely right: Nothing worse than thugs in its ranks. A pity for the SPS! What the opposition would say is that there is also another, more refined world in that party. Not everyone suffers from congenital unfriendliness, irritability, intolerance, and insolence.

But these more competent and decent people are clearly not drawing the SPS out of the shadows. Does Slobodan Milosevic know that this personnel defect or the inclination toward the wrong people is no longer credited to the SPS? Everything is reckoned to him.

Montenegro

'Factions' Continue To Argue Over Nationality

AU0107171194 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 1 Jul 94

[Report by Miodrag Vukovic from Podgorica]

[Text] The Montenegrin Liberals and the Serbian Radicals again clashed in the Montenegrin parliament over the issue of whether the Montenegrin nation existed or not. After an unpleasant atmosphere lasting almost two hours, the discussion returned to its original topics, the distribution of officials' apartments and the bill on state residence. Miodrag Vukovic reports from Podgorica.

[Vukovic] Yesterday's passions—which rose when, instead of discussing a bill on the Montenegrin Academy of Sciences and Arts, the pro-Serbian and pro-Montenegrin factions started to argue about the Montenegrin nation—today appear to be running even higher.

The session began fairly quietly with a discussion on officials' apartments and the state residences, with deputies talking about all the irregularities in the distribution of apartments to the republican officials, starting with the president of the state, the prime minister, and republican judges in the so-called Montenegrin Dedinje [an exclusive district of Belgrade], or the hill of God of Justice, as the settlement on the small hill of Podgorica is referred to in the parliament.

The discussion (?had been conducted within) the limits of good taste until about two hours ago, when it returned in the sphere of the national issue, or to be more precise, a literal showdown between two factions. The outbursts of passion by the Montenegrin Liberals and the Serbian Radicals are still taking place, despite the attempts of many deputies to bring the discussion back to its original agenda. So many ugly words were said from the assembly rostrum that we will simply not repeat them for reasons of good taste.

The ruling party was criticized for not dissociating itself during yesterday's senseless discussion from the claims that the Montenegrin nation was rapidly withering away. Thanks to the energetic intervention of the presidency of the assembly and some deputies the situation is calm at present. The discussion has returned to its original topic, perhaps only for a short time.

Kosovo

Rugova Views Serbian Violence in Province

AU0107193594 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1730 GMT 1 Jul 94

[Text] [Announcer] Our peaceful policy in resolving the Kosova problem, supported by the public and international factors, is causing nervousness in the Serbian regime. President of the Republic of Kosova Dr. Ibrahim Rugova stressed at today's news conference. For more details, let us follow a telephone report from Prishtina by our correspondent [words indistinct]:

[Correspondent] At a time of international initiatives for a peaceful solution to the Kosova problem, the Serbian regime has been intensifying its violence against Albanians, particularly against Albanian education. President of the Republic of Kosova Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said at his regular news conference.

The attacks have been concentrated particularly against Prishtina University, while their aim is to destroy our school system. Meanwhile, Rugova added, there have been more than 40 large interventions of police expeditions in various regions in Kosova. On this occasion, besides the goal of causing panic among citizens, the police have seized dozens of commodities, evicted people from their homes, and have violently drafted youths into the aggressive Serbian Army.

Meanwhile, armored military formations patrol the Kosova streets to sow fear, particularly in Prishtina, Podujeve, and Dushanove. Despite this, Rugova said, Kosova continues to be at the center of the attention of the international public.

Asked about his recent talks with British and Russian diplomatic representatives, Mr. Rugova said that talks focused on possibilities of dialogue with the Serbian side in the presence of the international factor.

[words indistinct] where a great understanding reigned, they talked about the possibilities of resolving the Kosova question.

Asked about the European Union commitment to resolving the problem of Kosova, President Rugova said that the question of Kosova will be examined in the European Council and at the G-7 meeting.

Asked whether there are signs for an international civil administration in Kosova, which he has been requesting several times, Rugova answered that the international factors have shown great interest in this issue, and the question is under examination. However, the problem is how to find a possibility of applying such protection for Kosova.

Asked to comment on a statement by the Yugoslav foreign minister given during his stay in Greece that Kosova is an internal issue of Serbia, President Rugova answered briskly: Mr. Jovanovic is concerned precisely because Kosova has already become an international issue.

At this meeting with reporters, Dr. Rugova demanded the immediate release from detention of Magistrate Hushinhoti, chairman of the National Unity Party, and the leadership of the Economic Chamber of Kosova.

Urges Albanian Confidence, Will

AU0107203694 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 1 Jul 94

[Text] July 2 marks four years since the time when the Kosova Assembly deputies approved the constitutional declaration for Kosova's independence. On the eve of this anniversary, we are broadcasting the message of the president of the republic of Kosova, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova.

[Begin Rugova recording] I can say that 2 July four years ago, when the Albanian part of the Kosova Assembly, de facto the entire Kosova Assembly, voted for the declaration of Kosova's independence, was a very important day. Of course, this advanced and went further with the 7 September Constitution in the same year and then with a referendum held a year later, on 26-30 September 1991, when the people's plebiscite declared itself for the independence of Kosova. Then free elections followed in May 1992, which were very important and created a new legitimacy for Kosova.

Unfortunately, the situation has deteriorated and repression and incessant violence have continued so far, as you already know. The 2 July declaration, and the referendum, which was a popular plebiscite, have assumed the greatest concern at an international level. I can say that all these acts and processes have helped to affirm and internationalize the question of Kosova.

The Kosova issue in particular has been affirmed in the last year and a half or more, and especially in the last year, by official and diplomatic circles in Europe and the world. We consider the 2 July declaration, the Constitution, and the referendum to be fundamental, on the basis of which we insist and are obliged to seek the accomplishment of the political will of the Albanian people and the people of Kosova, and of all Kosova citizens in general.

Once again on this anniversary, my message is—though it is not my habit to give many messages—that we should continue on our way, be better organized, and establish as many institutions as we can. Of course, another topic is that we should always preserve understanding, good faith in ourselves, and the liberation the Albanians reached in Kosova after 1990 and in Albania after 1991 and 1992, so as to preserve that inner spiritual liberation between ourselves and good understanding, because this is the greatest force, the greatest warranty for our common future. Of course, this also holds true for Albanians who are temporarily living in various countries in the world, who are assisting Kosova and the Albanian question, that is, we should preserve confidence and will, as this is the greatest warranty for our future [end recording].

LDK: Pristina Trial Turning Into 'Comedy Show'

AU0107193294 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT Nr. 389 in English 30 Jun 94

[Unattributed report: "The Trial Against 14 Albanians Continued in a Show Fashion"—issued by the Democratic League of Kosova]

[Text] The framed trial against 14 Albanians continued yesterday in its 7th session at the Serbian-run District Court in Prishtina. For five hours, just like in a literary gathering, as one of the lawyers said in the court, parts of dossiers of each of the accused were read.

In fact, as today's BUJKU reports, the entire sitting was turned yesterday in a comedy show when the prosecutor read some of the 'proof' causing an uproar and laughter in the Court. Among the proof material, the prosecutor showed LDK [the Democratic League of Kosova] and 'Mother Theresa' membership cards, tape recordings of family gatherings, parts of letters without names and dates describing Serbian repression in Kosova, passports, etc. In the case of one of the accused (Adem Salihaj) some nine cassette tapes were listened to, containing some songs read by Mr. Salihaj's children, and in which the voice of an 11-month old baby is heard! A telephone belonging to Mr. Salihaj, in his home when he was arrested, was also included as proof.

There was much talk about a map of Prishtina, as well as about some private notes taken by the accused Heset Sahiti speaking critically of Serbian President Milosevic. The prosecutor blamed Mr. Heset Sahiti for having counted the military aircraft flying at low altitude over his town. "The airplane noise over Prishtina is being heard even as we hold this session," said one of the lawyers, Mr. Bajram Kelmendi.

All the accused denied the accusation, saying that these had been no ministry of defense, no military staff, no army. The trial is expected to end on Friday.